

THE GREEN BOOK

BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

PART 1

The solution of the problem of Democracy

PART 2

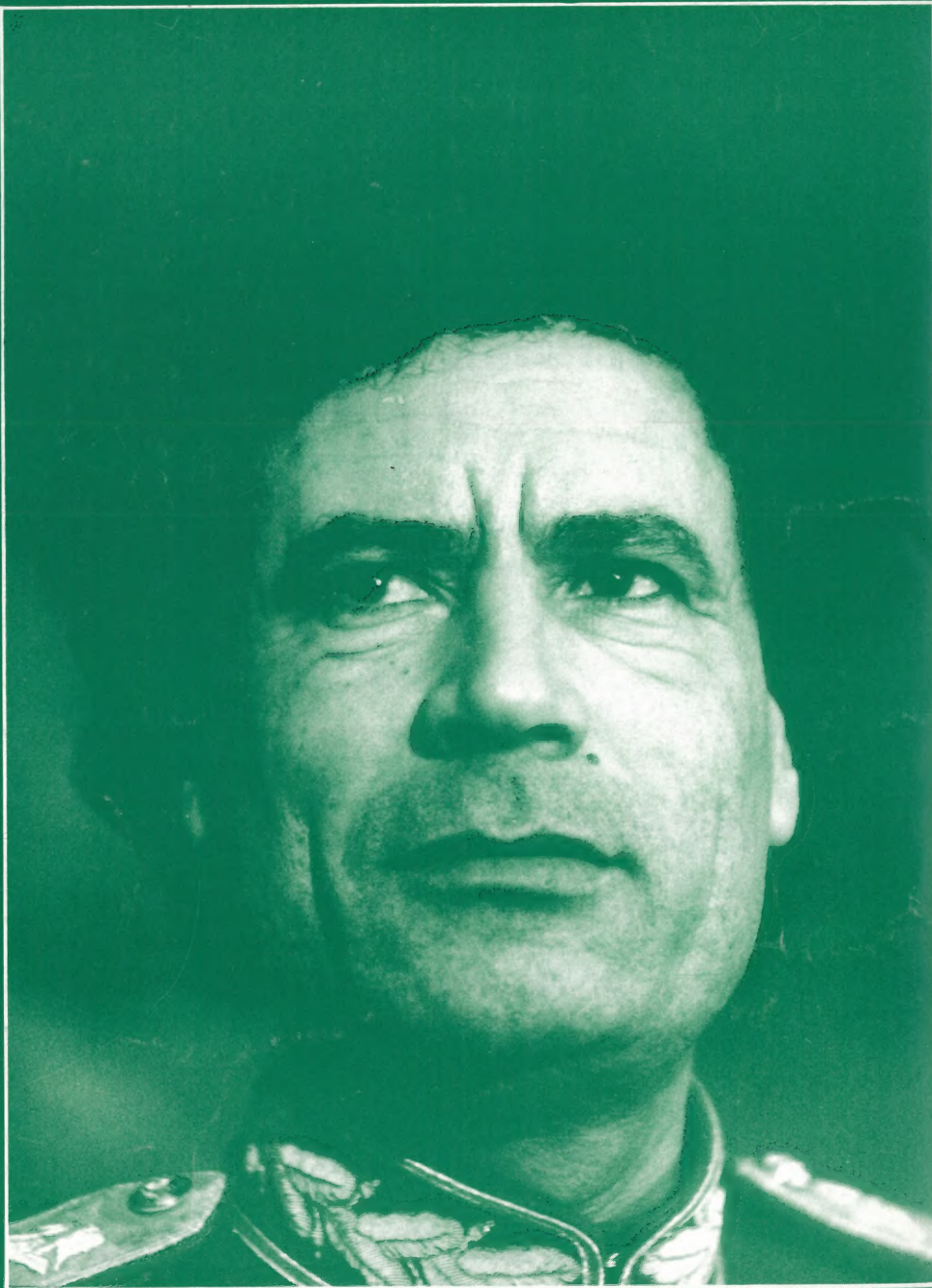
The solution of the Economic Problem

PART 3

The Social Basis of the Third Universal Theory

In these three volumes the Libyan leader examines the economic, social and political problems confronting the world today, and presents a radical programme for their solution.

The Green Book provides a comprehensive review of the theories on which the Libyan Jamahiriya is based. The proposals put forward by Muammer al Qadhafi are not merely theories but an explanation and insight into the structure and priorities of modern Libya.



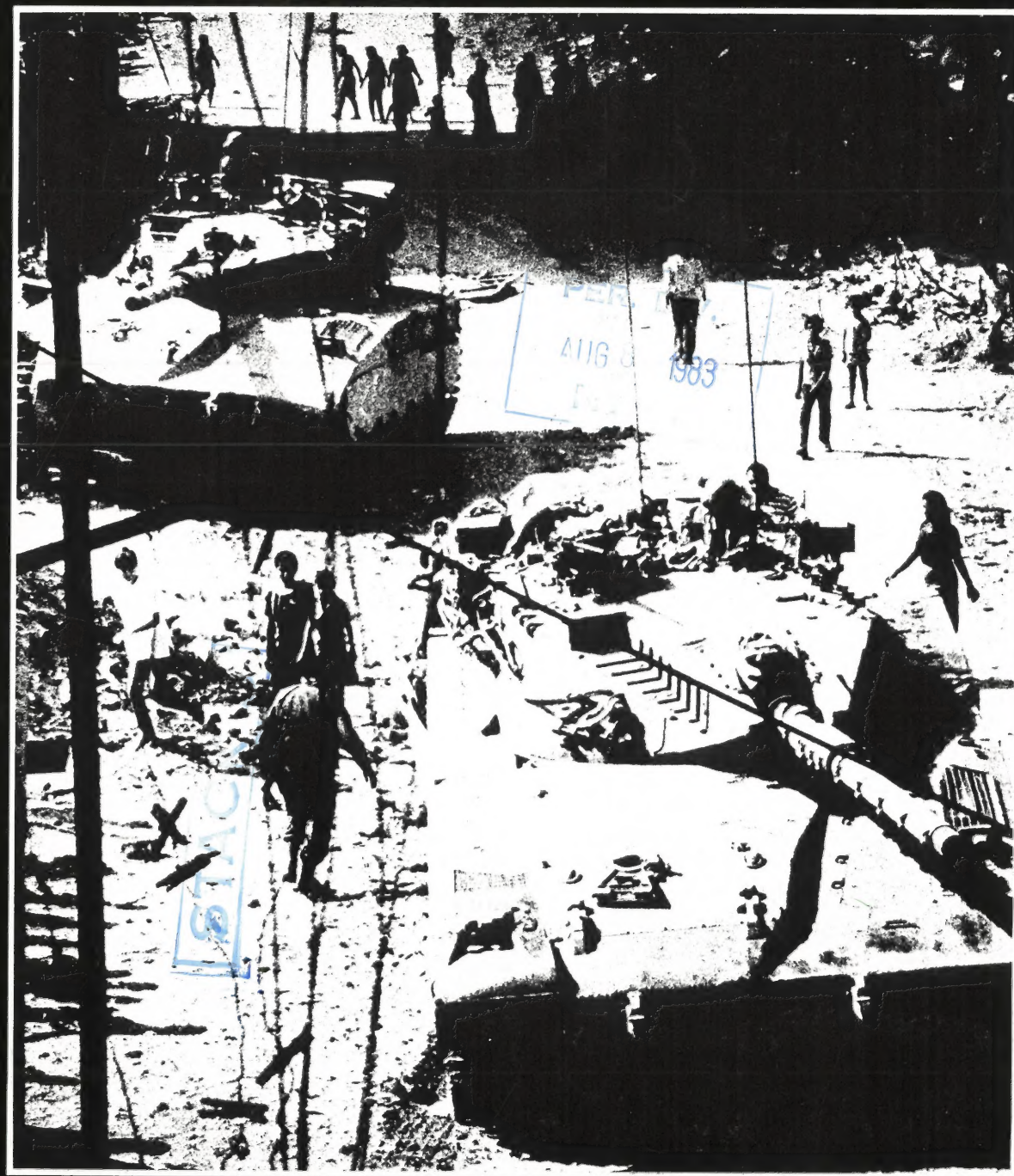
Copies of The Green Book can be obtained from The Information Department, The Libyan People's Bureau of the Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, 5 St James's Square, London SW1.

jamahiriya review

June 1983

Price 50p

Inside:
British trade
with Libya



The Zionist threat to Arab security

A special review of Zionist and Arab strategy



Jalal Rifai

JAMAHIRIYA

INTERNATIONAL REPORT

A radical English-language newspaper providing a revolutionary perspective of international affairs and liberation struggle in the Third World. Authoritative reports and background assessments on conflict situations in El Salvador, Nicaragua, southern Africa, and the Arab homeland.

Regular features include Third World affairs, Revolutionary Perspectives and Commentary, Arab homeland news, Jamahiriya news, News background, Conflict Studies and Disarmament Report.

Power, Wealth and Arms in the hands of the People

Available fortnightly from all good newsagents. In case of difficulty in obtaining your copy contact your local Libyan People's Bureau, or write to the Press and Information Department, Libyan People's Bureau, 5 St James's Square, London SW1.

jamahiriya review

June 1983

No 37

□ **COVER STORY:** The Lebanon-Israeli agreement signed last month as the result of United States mediation has been strongly condemned by Syria and the Libyan Jamahiriya. In an extended special report Ali Aziz examines the response of the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi, and reviews the trend in the policies of the Arab regimes towards a comprehensive surrender of Arab rights to the Zionist-American alliance (see pages 8 to 10). An editorial comment appears on page 4.

□ **PEOPLE'S POWER:** In Libya a series of events in recent weeks have been initiated to expand the base of popular power in the Jamahiriya. In the field of foreign affairs and with regard to the military, the citizen has been provided with new opportunities to influence and participate, as a special correspondent explains on pages 11 and 12.

□ **BRITISH TRADE:** Libyan remains one of the most important markets for British exports, and British trade officials look forward to a steady upward trend after some decline in recent years due to the impact of the international oil surplus. On page 16, Dr Alan George looks at the opportunities for British companies in the Jamahiriya. Other trade and development news appears on pages 17 and 18.

□ **RAMADAN:** 12 June marks the start of the Islamic month of Ramadan, manifested by fasting by all Muslims from sunrise to sunset. A special report on page 15 looks at the origins and significance of the holiest month in the Islamic calendar.

□ **SABRATHA:** The ruined Roman city of Sabratha, on the coast west of Tripoli, is one of three major historic sites in the Jamahiriya that were recently added to UNESCO's World Heritage List for their 'outstanding universal value'. A feature article on pages 13 and 14 reviews the rise and fall of one of North Africa's greatest classical cities.

Published by Jamahiriya Review, 13A Hillgate Street, London W8 7SP. Telephone: 01-727 3131. Telex 892830 Event G. Printed by W F Aldridge & Co Limited, London SW16 6NW. We acknowledge the co-operation of JANA, the Jamahiriya News Agency, in providing its daily bulletin.

EDITORIAL

Creating the Zionist empire 4

PANORAMA NEWS REVIEW

Reagan's student ban 'mediaeval and ignorant' 5
Co-operation with Dublin 5
Qadhafi urges end to Red Brigades terrorism 5
Africa co-operation considered vital 5
Call for Cyprus negotiations 6
Upper Volta President sours relations 6
Unity moves with Yemen 6
Support for American Indians 6
Closer ties with China and Korea 6
Links with Athens progress 6
Disabled discuss their needs 7
Backing pledged for President Machel 7
Book fair proves popular 7
People's guards graduate 7
Equestrians on European tour 7

COVER STORY

Strategy for Palestine 8
Lebanon sovereignty has been surrendered 9
Syrian and Saudi leaders confer with Qadhafi 10

THIRD UNIVERSAL THEORY

Building the jamahiri system 11
Popular supervision of Foreign Liaison Bureau 12

HERITAGE

Sabratha: a site of outstanding universal value 13
'Landmarks of architectural history' 14

ISLAM

Ramadan: the holiest month of the year 15

UNITED KINGDOM

'One of the more promising markets' for British firms 16

TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT

Qadhafi acts to boost food output 17
Economy measures succeed 17
\$6 million gas/oil plant 17
Misrata port to expand 17
Shipping line adopts UNCTAD rules 18
Bright outlook for Australian trade 18
LAFB manages \$500 million loan for Greece 18
LAA considers leasing Airbuses 18

JAMAHIRIYA MONITOR

International, Arab homeland and Jamahiriya diary 19

Creating the Zionist empire

ON 3RD March this year a commentary from the Jamahiriya News Agency, JANA, provided a forceful attack on the arrival in the Middle East of the United States' Secretary of State, George Shultz. His immediate task was to secure a treaty between the Lebanese government and the Israeli government, but more important for Washington was that whatever the agreement secured between Israel and the Lebanon, it should advance America's overall strategy in the region.

The Libyan commentary warned that Shultz, and the American administration which he represents, should not be viewed as an impartial arbitrator in the conflict between the Zionists and the Arab nation. JANA argued that the Shultz initiative was an integral part of 'the US administration's alignment and strategic alliance with the Zionist enemy that are designed to undermine and completely destroy the Arab nation and the Palestinian cause and people.'

'Seen from this perspective,' the commentary continued. 'We should realise that the American administration is responsible for the formulation and implementation of the Camp David accords, and for the signing of the strategic agreement with Israel that started with the invasion of Lebanon, the escalation of Zionist settlements, the removal of the Palestinians from Lebanon, the isolation of Syria and the mass murders against the inhabitants of the Sabra and Shatila camps.'

Less than three months later Israeli and Lebanese government representatives reached agreement and signed a treaty drafted by the Americans. The implementation of the accord remains dependent, the Zionists insist, on Syrian and PLO forces also withdrawing from the Lebanon, as well as the tens of thousands of Israeli troops which have remained there as an occupation army despite the evacuation of PLO fighters from Beirut last summer. By imposing these conditions the Israelis have made it clear that they intend to remain as a military force in the Lebanon, using Syrian and PLO forces in the Bekaa valley as the pretext, despite the Zionists' clear violation of Security Council resolutions adopted during the 1982 war which made clear the illegality of the Israeli invasion and demanded the immediate evacuation of all Israeli forces from Lebanon.

As the former Zionist foreign minister, Abba Eban, observed of the Lebanon-Israeli accord, it has 'non-implementation built into it'. Yet whether it is implemented or not, now or later, the terms of the accord make clear the Zionist-American strategy to secure the step-by-step disarmament of the Arab states surrounding occupied Palestine, thereby ensuring the protection of the Zionist state.

Writing in *The Observer* on 22nd May, the paper's experienced commentator on Arab affairs, Patrick Seale, confirms much of the Libyan analysis of American and Zionist strategy in the region. The Zionist objective, he says, 'is for security through force, peace by hegemony, the building of Greater Israel within a protective ring of demilitarised territory from Sinai to Lebanon', while 'the American dream for the Middle East would seem to be one in which a final push by the Israeli partner would rout the last remaining Arab radicals'.

Seale links the Lebanon treaty with President Reagan's almost simultaneous announcement of the release of 75 F-16s whose delivery was suspended during the Lebanon invasion last year, the new agreement on joint US-Israeli production of the new Zionist

Lavie fighter jet, the secret 'side-letters' accompanying the Israeli-Lebanon accord, Beigin's invitation to visit Washington, and the suggested implementation of the memorandum of strategic co-operation between Israel and the United States, signed on 30th November 1981.

He concludes: 'What all this amounts to is an American underwriting of Israeli military supremacy in the region, and with it the abandonment of Washington's attempts at even-handedness, which were half-hearted at the best of times.'

'Without fanfare and almost without conscious decision, American policy towards the Middle East has slipped into a new phase. Its chief feature is an explicit American-Israeli partnership in ordering the area's affairs,' notes Mr Seale.

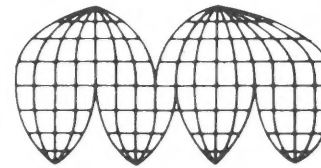
The warning from Muammer Qadhafi that Israel will now turn its aggressions against Syria and the Arab homeland beyond should be taken seriously. It is not Libya which is a danger to peace in the Middle East; a review of Zionist activities since the mid-1970s provides a picture of persistent violations of all international laws and demolishes any claim that the Israelis may make to being a peace-loving nation. The facts speak for themselves, and Arab and international leaders who turn a blind eye to them do a great disservice to humanity.

In 1975, Israel launched a series of bombing raids on Palestinian refugee camps in the Lebanon; by 1977 the Beigin regime was proclaiming long-term settlement plans for the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and insisting that these territories would remain under Zionist occupation; in 1978 Israel invaded south Lebanon but was forced to withdraw after eight days of fierce Arab resistance; 1979, and 1980 saw continued Israeli bombing of southern Lebanon, as the Zionists pressed ahead with their settlement programme on the West Bank, in 1980 Israel showed its total contempt for Arab rights in Palestine and the United Nations resolutions by declaring Arab Jerusalem, occupied in 1967, as the 'eternal capital' of the Zionist state. In 1981 Israel launched further attacks on Lebanon, and bombed Beirut killing over 300 civilians. Also in 1981, Israeli fighter planes, supplied by the United States, destroyed Iraq's nuclear reactor close to Baghdad. In 1982, the Zionists stepped up their campaign to suppress Palestinian resistance on the West Bank, and in a two week period in April the Zionists gunned down 14 Palestinian protesters, and wounded a further 273. Two months later came the Zionist invasion of Lebanon. More than 65,000 civilians were killed or wounded, and over 1,000 refugees in Sabra and Shatila massacred. Meanwhile the Arab regimes continued to make peace overtures to Israel and the United States as though nothing had happened.

It should be evident to all concerned that a new strategy is required from the Arab nation which can mobilise all possible resources to first check the Zionist war machine, and secondly restore Arab rights in the occupied Arab lands. Again and again this call to arms has been issued by the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi. Those who ignore it do so at their own peril.

The diplomatic campaign of the PLO and the Arab regimes has failed; it is not relevant when the enemy has so little concern and so much contempt for international laws and conventions. In 1948, and 1967, and 1982, Israel has provided ample evidence of its intentions to expand its territories to such an extent that it is difficult to dispute Qadhafi's claim that the Zionists seek not a Jewish homeland but an empire which spans the Arab homeland.

A monthly
review of
Libyan, Islamic
and Third World
affairs



PANORAMA
news review

Reagan's student ban 'medieval and ignorant'

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S decision to ban Libyan students from studying nuclear science and aviation-related subjects in the United States, announced in March as part of his overall economic war against the Jamahiriya, has been strongly attacked in the May issue of the respected British journal *New Scientist*.

Pointing out that restrictions on academic freedom can only retard overall academic achievements, the journal said that if US universities acquiesced in 'this latest manifestation of the Reagan administration's medieval strategy for guarding our scientific prowess, there will eventually be considerably less to guard'.

The ban would 'affect fewer than 500 of the approximately 3,000 Libyan students at American universities', and 'is not going to impair Colonel Qadhafi's military plans. He can send his students elsewhere or hire specialists of other nationalities,' the journal continued.

After listing a series of restrictions imposed on academics by the Reagan administration for alleged reasons of 'national security', *New Scientist* concluded that the ban on Libyan students 'is just the latest of many ignorant assaults that are damaging a national asset envied round the world'.

Co-operation with Dublin

A HIGH-powered Libyan delegation has been holding talks in Dublin with Irish ministers and officials to explore ways of bolstering trade and other ties between the Libyan and Irish peoples.

In May, the Libyan-Irish Joint Committee, formed to encourage trade links, held a series of meetings, at which three sub-committees were formed to examine the scope for closer relations in transport, in agriculture, finance and trade, and in technology, health and training.

In parallel moves to improve Tripoli's links with Dublin, Mr Abdel Hafiz Zlitni, the Jamahiriya's Education Secretary, and Mr Adem Kuwiri, Secretary of

the Libyan People's Bureau in London, conferred with Irish Foreign Minister Peter Barry.

The Dublin talks should boost trade between Ireland and Libya, which in recent years has been increasing rapidly. In 1979, Ireland exported to Libya goods, primarily farm and dairy produce, valued at \$82.4 million. By 1981 the figure had jumped to nearly \$132 million.

Qadhafi urges end to Red Brigades terrorism

A FIRM call for an end to Red Brigades terrorism in Italy has come from Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi, in an interview with the Italian daily *Il Messaggero* on 23rd May.

Rejecting allegations emanating from Washington of Libyan complicity in Red Brigades violence, Colonel Qadhafi said: 'There are no such links. I am opposed to clandestine work, terrorism and violence.'

He added that while Tripoli advocated the establishment of the *jamahiri* system of direct democracy in Italy, no less than in other countries, that was 'a public, not a secret call'. Libya favoured political lobbying to be carried out 'overtly, and in broad daylight'.

He concluded: 'I call on the Red Brigades to abandon violence and covert activity and to practice legitimate revolutionary work in the open.'

African co-operation considered vital

IN THE run-up to the Nineteenth Summit Meeting of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the Libyan Jamahiriya has moved to consolidate ties with African nations, but Tripoli has nevertheless expressed reservations about the wisdom of convening the meeting while the disputes that thwarted last year's OAU summit remain unresolved.

On 23rd May Foreign Liaison Secretary Abdel Ati al Ubeidi conferred with a visiting Ghanaian delegation headed by Captain Akuju Chicana, Adviser of the



Provisional National Defence Council, with discussions centring on means of bolstering the already close ties between the Jamahiriya and Ghana. The same day, Ghana's Treasury, Economic Planning, and Oil and Energy Ministers held talks with Libya's Treasury and Oil Secretaries.

Earlier, on 22nd April, Muammer Qadhafi held wide-ranging talks with the Libyan capital with the visiting President of the Central African Republic, André Kolingba. Amongst the topics discussed was Libya's military training programme in Central Africa, and on 24th May the Jamahiriya news agency JANA announced the return of a Libyan armed forces unit after its successful completion of a training programme for Central African special forces, as part of the wider co-operation programme between the two countries.

A call by the current OAU Chairman, President Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya, for all African nations to give the OAU full backing in its aims of forging African unity was announced by JANA on 26th May. The appeal, marking the Twentieth Anniversary of the OAU, stressed that the liberation of Africa from racist and colonialist rule

should be the prime objective of the pan-African body.

The Libyan Jamahiriya firmly subscribes to the aims of the OAU, but has expressed certain reservations about convening the OAU summit in June. Last year, two attempts to hold the meeting in Tripoli failed. First, some countries refused to attend in protest at the presence of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, which had earlier been admitted to OAU membership by an OAU committee. A second attempt failed after a number of countries, including the Jamahiriya, staged a walk-out over the presence of the Habre regime from Chad, which many African nations do not regard as the legitimate government of the country.

In a statement to JANA, reported on 24th May, Muammer Qadhafi said it was 'appropriate for the OAU summit to be delayed for several months or even one year, because no positive changes have occurred for the holding of this summit'. He added that in view of the need to 'maintain continuity', it was 'appropriate that the current Chairman of the OAU should remain Chairman until we overcome the difficult circumstances facing the African summit'.

Call for Cyprus negotiations

IN A reaffirmation of the Jamahiriya's long standing policy, Dr Ali Abdusalam Treiki, Libya's Permanent Representative at the UN, told a General Assembly debate in May that Tripoli would continue to use its best endeavours to negotiate a peaceful solution to the problems of Cyprus, currently divided between its Greek and Turkish communities.

He recalled that in 1980 Libya had initiated efforts, in co-ordination with the UN Secretary General, for a peaceful resolution of the problem by convening a meeting of the Turkish and Greek sides in the Libyan capital.

The Jamahiriya remained ready to 'participate in a solution that satisfies both sides, and is just for both', and Dr Treiki urged increased international efforts to reach a solution.

Cyprus was the venue in May for a symposium convened to examine the threats to non-aligned countries posed by the US and NATO military presence in the Mediterranean and Arab Homeland. The conference, organised by the Tripoli-based International Secretariat for Solidarity with the Arab People, concluded with a call for the Mediterranean and Arab regions to be transformed into zones of peace by the liberation of Palestine from Zionist occupation, the evacuation of all foreign military bases and nuclear weapons, and respect for the right of the peoples of the region to control their own natural resources and for their policies of non-alignment.

Upper Volta President sours relations

A POWER struggle between leftists and rightists in Upper Volta's People's Salvation Council erupted in May with the arrest of the Premier, Captain Thomas Sankara and several other progressive members of the Council, on the orders of President Jean-Baptiste Ouédraogo.

A key pretext for the wave of arrests, which prompted angry demonstrations in the capital, Ouagadougou, was the close ties being forged between the Upper Voltan and Libyan peoples. Captain Sankara has played an important role in the process, and earlier this year paid a visit to Tripoli for talks with Libyan officials. The familiar cry of 'Libyan subversion' went up from the rightist opponents of Captain Sankara and his supporters.

The hostility of President

Ouedraogo to the Jamahiriya was confirmed by an announcement on 19th May that the Libyan Chargé d'Affairs had been given 48 hours to leave the West African country.

Muammer Qadhafi paid an official visit to Upper Volta in April, as part of a tour that included Nigeria and Benin. In talks with the Upper Volta President, it was agreed to set up a joint co-operation committee, a joint bank and a joint agricultural company. The Libyan leader also pledged relief supplies to alleviate the impact of West Africa's current economic recession. Ouagadougou radio announced on 6th May that the promise had been fulfilled with the arrival of five large Libyan transport aircraft, each carrying forty tonnes of food.

The Jamahiriya news agency JANA disclosed on 18th May that the rightists on the People's Salvation Council had enlisted the assistance of French commando units for the strike against their progressive rivals. JANA said that the rightists had 'indicated that the main reason for their coup was the growing support in Upper Volta for an ideology which emphasised a *jamahiri* regime (a system of direct democracy practised in Libya) aimed at self rule by the people'.

Unity moves with Yemen



President Ali Nasser Muhammad of Yemen

THE LATEST sign of the progress being attained by the Jamahiriya and Democratic Yemen in their moves to unify domestic and foreign policies came on 6th May with the signature of an agreement for co-operation in security matters. The accord was signed in Tripoli

by south Yemen's Interior Minister Muhammad Abdullah al Buttani and by the Jamahiriya's Justice Secretary, Muhammad Abu al Qasim az Zuwayy.

Last July, an agreement was announced for joint meetings between the Yemeni Cabinet and the Libyan General People's Committee, and between the General People's Congress and Yemen's Supreme People's Council. In 1982 the Jamahiriya launched a series of initiatives with Syria, Algeria, Yemen and Tunisia, aimed at forging common policies as a step towards ultimate unity.

Support for American Indians

IN A demonstration of the Jamahiriya's firm support for the causes of oppressed minorities, revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi in April held talks in Tripoli and Benghazi with a visiting delegation from the American Indian Movement (AIM), headed by AIM officials Ward Churchill and Dace Means.

The Indians were part of a larger party of American minority groups who were visiting Libya to acquaint themselves with its economic and social achievements, and to familiarise themselves with the *jamahiri* system of direct democracy practised by the Libyan people.

Closer ties with China and Korea

A HIGH-powered Libyan delegation including members from several of the Jamahiriya's Secretariats, has been touring the People's Republic of China and the People's Democratic Republic of Korea to explore ways of bolstering trade relations between Libya and the Asian countries, the Jamahiriya news agency JANA disclosed on 26th May. It added that the delegation was reviewing progress in implementation of economic co-operation agreements which Tripoli concluded with both countries during Colonel Qadhafi's Asian tour last autumn.

During the Libyan leader's trip last year, at the head of a delegation comprising a number of the Jamahiriya's Secretaries, talks were held on the formation of a Joint Committee to monitor and develop economic, scientific and technical co-operation between the two countries.

Earlier, in August 1982, another Libyan delegation, headed by Jadallah Azourz Talhi, Secre-

tary of the General People's Committee, had toured China and the Philippines, and concluded a co-operation agreement with Peking that included provision for Chinese firms to take part in Libya's economic development programme. Specific areas mentioned as being open to Chinese companies were road, railway and dam construction, housing, health, agriculture and industry. In April this year, it was disclosed that 21 major projects submitted by Chinese firms had been approved by Libya (see trade pages).

The agenda for the Libyan delegation's talks in North Korea was amongst the topics discussed during a visit to the Jamahiriya in May by Korean Vice President Kim Il Sung. During his visit, he conferred with Libya's Secretary for Housing, Muhammad Manqush, and with Mr Azourz Talhi, Secretary of the General People's Committee. On 25th May JANA said that 'the establishment of joint companies in various sectors' was also reviewed.

Links with Athens progress

EVER SINCE the victory of Andreas Papandreou's socialist PASOK Party in the Greek general election in 1981, Tripoli's relations with Athens have moved from strength to strength, and the process continued in April with two important meetings in the Greek capital.

On 18th April Mr Abdel Ati al Ubeidi, Secretary for Foreign Liaison, held wide-ranging talks with Carlos Papoulis, Under Secretary at the Greek Foreign Ministry, who stressed to the Jamahiriya news agency JANA that his country's ties with Libya were extremely warm: 'This friendship has progressed dramatically under Greece's socialist government,' he said, adding that there was broad co-operation between the Jamahiriya and the Greek Socialist Movement at conferences of the Mediterranean Socialist Parties' Organisation.

Shortly after, on 22nd April, the Joint Greek-Libyan Committee for Economic and Technical Co-operation, which oversees trade links between the two countries, began a series of meetings to consider the expansion of trade relations and co-operation in industrial and marine transport projects.

Delegations to the Committee were headed by the Jamahiriya's Planning Secretary, Fawzi Shakshouki, and Greek Acting Minister for National Economy Gerasinos Arsenis.

Disabled discuss their needs

A SERIES of open meetings for Libya's handicapped citizens, at which they will discuss their special needs and problems, was inaugurated on 16th April with a conference at Tripoli's Bab al Bahr Hotel, with the Jamahiriya's Social Security Secretary Ibrahim al Faqih Hasan in attendance, together with the Secretaries of Basic People's Congresses and People's Committees from the Libyan capital.

Mr al Faqih Hasan told the Jamahiriya news agency JANA that the meeting would be followed by other conferences in all the country's municipalities, and that the discussions would form the basis for revised legislation to improve the circumstances of the disabled.

He added that Law No 3 of 1981, covering employment opportunities and social services for the handicapped, was now in force, and that the disabled in addition benefitted from the provisions of special regulations providing for cheap fares on public transport, and the exemption of their special equipment, such as wheelchairs, from all import duties.

In a further measure to ease the situation of the disabled, said Mr al Faqih Hasan, each handicapped person would receive a cash payment of 35 Libyan Dinars, with effect from 1st January 1984.

JANA disclosed on 16th April that Libya's National Committee for the Care of the Disabled was currently studying new regulations providing for the education and housing of the handicapped in purpose-built rehabilitation centres.

Backing pledged for President Machel

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya has acted swiftly to support Mozambique following last month's air attack on Maputo by the apartheid regime in Pretoria, which killed six innocent civilians. The assault was claimed to be a 'reprisal' for a massive car bomb attack in Pretoria in which 18 people died and dozens were injured. The African National Congress (ANC), which is fighting an increasingly militant struggle for the liberation of South Africa from racist rule, claimed responsibility for the attack.

On 26th May the Jamahiriya news agency JANA announced that revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi had contacted



Weapons training at a women's military academy

Mozambican President Samora Machel, pledging Tripoli's firm support against Pretoria, and expressing Libya's readiness to activate the two countries' joint defence treaty.

Colonel Qadhafi said that the 'radical solution is to remove the racist regime totally, and to liberate South Africa from racist hegemony so that the State of Azania comes into being on the ruins of the apartheid regime, just as the Republic of Zimbabwe arose from the ashes of the Smith regime in Rhodesia.'

Book fair proves popular

THE SECOND Tripoli International Book Fair, opened on 19th April by Mr Jadallah Azourz Talhi, Secretary of the General People's Committee, has been extended in response to popular demand. On 8th May JANA said that attendance had been far higher than in the first book exhibition, with 50,000 people per day perusing the books on show.

140 publishing houses from 26 countries are exhibiting at the fair, which was organised by Libya's General Establishment for Publishing, Distribution and Advertising. Books are on sale at discounts ranging from 25 to 50 per cent.

People's Guards graduate

IN ANOTHER sign of the progress being attained towards the establishment of the armed people in Libya, JANA announced that the first contingent of People's Guards had graduated at a ceremony in Tripoli on 7th

May, attended by Major Khweildi Hamidi, the Assistant Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces.

The Al Fateh Revolution advocates the ultimate abolition of the standing army, arguing that it represents a potential threat to the *jamahiri* system of direct democracy, under which Libyan citizens determine their own affairs through the debates of all types, in an effort to create a defensive system involving the entire population, and organised on a community basis (for a fuller discussion of the concept of the armed people, see page 11).

Equestrians on European tour

THE JAMAHIRIYA'S equestrian team inaugurated a tour of European show jumping contests by taking part in Rome's 51st International Championships, which started on 3rd May.

JANA said that the Libyan team acquitted themselves honourably in Rome, coming seventh in the opening rounds, eighth, and ninth in the fourth rounds on the second-day, and fourth in the tenth round on the fourth day.

From Rome, the team went on to compete with other international riders at the Windsor International Show Jumping Competition in Britain. Again, Libyan riders performed creditably, taking a number of places in the top ten positions.

While there is a long tradition of horsemanship in Libya, formal horse jumping is a relatively young sport. Observers were agreed that the Libyan riders looked promising at Rome and Windsor, and that they should

improve noticeably as they gained more experience of international events.

The Jamahiriya's equestrian team went on from Britain to take part in competitions in Austria and West Germany.

Start-up for PANA

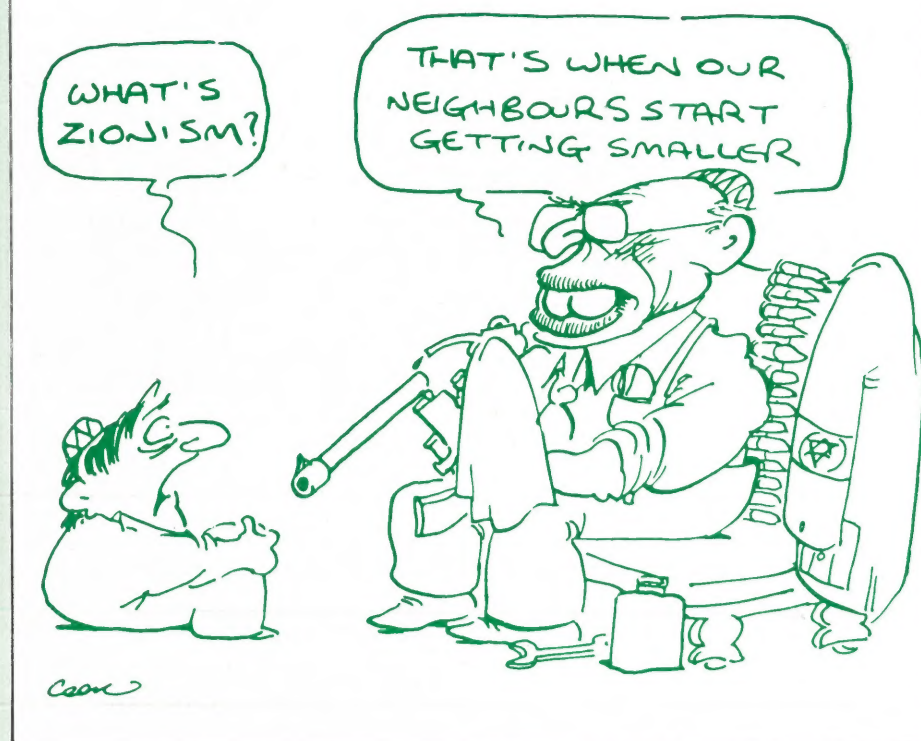
IN WHAT Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi called the realisation of a twenty-year old dream, the Pan-African News Agency (PANA) started operations on 26th May.

In a message to PANA to mark its inauguration, President Moi, who is current Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), recalled that a resolution calling for the creation of an African news agency had been approved at the first-ever formal assembly of African Heads of State and Government. The resolution had called for a continental agency 'to promote the aims and objectives of the OAU for the consolidation and independence, unity and solidarity of Africa'.

He noted that amongst the objectives of the agency were 'the promotion of the effective exchange of political, economic, social and cultural values, and the preservation and promotion of traditional oral, written and visual communication'.

African information ministers agreed to set up PANA at a meeting in Addis Ababa in 1979, to 'correct the distorted picture of Africa, its countries and people resulting from the partial and negative information published by foreign news agencies,' President Moi recalled.

PANA's services will go to twenty African countries, and the scheme is financed by the OAU and UNESCO.



Strategy for Palestine

THROUGHOUT THE history of the Palestinian conflict the major weakness of Arab strategy has been the failure to come to terms with the United States crucial role as protector of the Zionist state, and to a lesser extent the stand of the West European countries which have paid lip-service to Arab rights while adopting no firm position against the Zionist state regardless of its aggressions against the Arab nation. At the same time Arab leaders have constantly refused to recognise the need for a military response to confront the Zionists' territorial ambitions.

From 1917, when the British government issued its infamous Balfour Declaration, to the evacuation of British forces from Palestine in 1948, the British government played a crucial role in providing a façade of legitimacy to the Zionist mission to colonise Arab Palestine. At the same time Britain placed compliant pro-Western regimes in those Arab countries where it had the power to influence such developments. As a consequence, the forces of Palestine's Arab neighbours in 1948 were firmly under British control, and were unable to adopt any serious defensive action against the Zionists in the 1948 Palestine war.

As British world influence and power declined in the 1940s, so America assumed the role of world power. The Partition

IN JUNE 1967 Zionist forces marched into the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, Syria's Golan and Egypt's Sinai territories. In June 1982, Israel launched its invasion forces into Lebanon. Last month, the Lebanese government signed a peace treaty with the Zionist state. Ali Aziz provides this review of how the Arab states have failed to respond to constant Israeli aggression from the creation of the Zionist state in Palestine in 1948 to the present day.

Plan, which divided Palestine into Arab and Jewish states, was pushed through the newly created United Nations in 1947 as a direct result of American pressure on Washington's client republics, and from the day of establishment of the Zionist state in Palestine, the United States has remained its main protector.

Since 1948 there has been no serious Arab military challenge to the Zionist

state. Arab regimes, notably in Saudi Arabia and Jordan, have been so totally dependent for their survival on American and British support that they have been incapable of devising, let alone implementing, a strategy of resistance and liberation. When Israel attacked Egypt, Jordan and Syria in the 1967 June War further Arab lands were seized by the Zionists with little resistance. Even the Palestinians who fell under Zionist military occupation on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip were unable to mount any serious challenge. The Hashemite regime had disarmed the Palestinians, and on occupying Arab Jerusalem the Zionists quickly discovered Jordanian intelligence records listing known Palestinian nationalist militants — who were quickly arrested by the occupation authorities and either imprisoned or deported.

Three years before the June War, in May 1974, the Palestine Liberation Organisation had been formed under the auspices of the Arab League. The event was merely the latest in the continuing efforts of the Arab regimes to contain the Palestinian Arab liberation struggle. In 1965, on 1st January, a previously unknown organisation, Al Fateh, the Palestine National Liberation Movement, staged its first resistance operation against the Zionist occupiers in Palestine to assert the Palestinians' rejection of Arab control over their affairs. By 1969, Fateh and other resistance groups had wrenched the PLO from Arab control and secured it as a purely Palestinian organisation.

Without any doubt the resistance operations staged by the PLO groups such as Fateh at the battle of Al Karameh in 1968, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) in its spectacular hijacking operations, along with the hundreds of often unreported (in the western press) resistance operations inside occupied Palestine, played a central role in the regeneration of Palestinian nationalism and the sense of Palestinian identity. Yet the strategy of the Palestinians could not be freely determined outside the context of Arab consensus, and this was clearly not united behind a military strategy to defend the Arab nation from further Zionist aggressions, let alone liberate occupied Palestine.

In general the Arab regimes were committed to a solution of the 'Palestine question', as the Zionist threat was euphemistically termed, based on Security Council Resolution 242, which accepted Israel's right to exist behind secure and recognised borders. Not only were the Arab regimes committed to this formula for peace, but also to securing its implementation by political and diplomatic rather than military means.

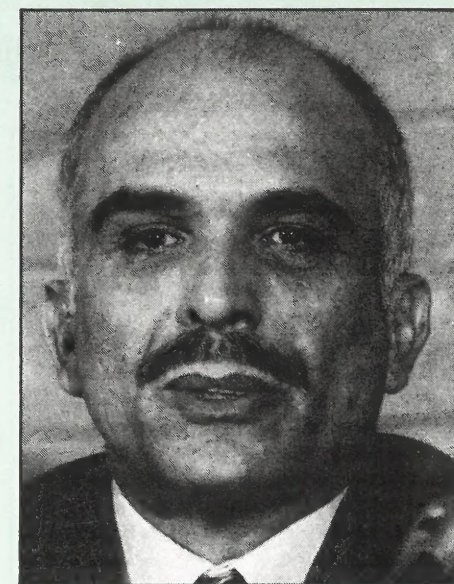
The PLO publicly denounced Resolution 242, although as the years passed its rejection was increasingly explained as being due to the fact that the resolution did not recognise the national rights of the

Palestinian people, rather than the fact that it gave legitimacy to the 1948 occupation of Palestinian land by the Zionists.

At the forefront of Arab supporters of Resolution 242 was King Hussein, Jordan's staunchly pro-Western monarch, who had been responsible for disarming the West Bank Palestinians prior to the 1967 Zionist invasion. Yet Jordan, with its large population of Palestinian refugees, and its long border with occupied Palestine, had become a focal point of the Palestinian resistance movement. The Zionist strategy was to face King Hussein with the prospect of destabilisation; regular Zionist attacks were made against Palestinian refugee camps and guerrilla bases on the East Bank of the Jordan River.

The rapidly growing Palestinian resistance movement, based largely in Jordan, alarmed the State Department in Washington and the Hashemite Palace in Amman. Urged on by the US, Hussein made a number of attacks against the Palestinians, who were concentrated largely in the massive refugee camps on the outskirts of the city. Finally, in September 1970, King Hussein launched his troops against the Palestinians in what came to be known as Black September. Tens of thousands of Palestinians died at the hands of the Hashemite forces.

The US and Israel had succeeded, through Hussein, in driving the Pales-



Hussein: staunchly pro-Western monarch

tinian fighters from Jordan, and in securing protection for the Israeli occupation on the West Bank. Hussein's Jordan was to provide the Zionists with a security zone along their longest border with the free Arab world.

And within weeks Egypt's great nationalist leader, President Gamal Abdel Nasser, died and was succeeded by Anwar Sadat as the new Egyptian President.

Three years later, in October 1973, the Sadat regime launched its assault across the Suez Canal, and successfully drove back the Israelis. However, Sadat's scheme was not to wage a war of liberation, his aim was to force the Israelis to open negotiations for the evacuation of Egyptian territory in Sinai by involving the United States in what is termed 'the peace process'. Two years later, in 1975, Saudi Arabia's King Feisal was assassinated, and King Khaled came to the Saudi throne. However, more important than Khaled in the new regime was the pro-American Prince Fahd who assumed a key position in the country's government; when Khaled died in June 1982, Fahd became king. A more experienced international politician, Fahd led the Arab regimes in the search for a political settlement with the Zionists. The death of Feisal and the newly acquired power of Fahd opened the way in November 1977 for Sadat to make his dramatic visit to occupied Jerusalem and to start peace talks with the Zionist regime, which by that time was headed by Menachem Beigin.

In 1978, the Sadat regime signed the Camp David accords, effectively a peace treaty with Israel. The Arab states, aware that Arab public opinion would not accept such a betrayal of Arab rights in Palestine, declared their rejection of the accords, and expelled Egypt from member-

Lebanon's sovereignty has been surrendered

ANGRY DEMONSTRATIONS have been staged in towns and cities throughout the Libyan Jamahiriya in protest at the signing of the Lebanon-Israeli treaty in late May. In Tripoli, the scene of the largest mobilisation, effigies of President Gemeyal were burned, and the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi addressed a rally denouncing the Gemeyal regime and the American sponsored agreement.

In a long and wide-ranging speech, Qadhafi detailed point-by-point the reasons for rejecting the agreement. He dismissed claims by those supporting the agreement that it provided for Israel's withdrawal from the Lebanon because, on the contrary, Lebanon would now be subjugated 'politically, economically and socially to serve the Zionist state'. The Lebanese people, he declared, 'must take up arms to recover Lebanon's independence, lost by this agreement', which he declared as 'worse than the Camp David accords'.

Explaining the basis for Libya's position, Qadhafi pointed out that 'the Israelis' withdrawal from Lebanon would come about as a result of the recognition of Israel, neglect of the Palestinian issue, and ending the state of war with the Israelis'.

'Israel has now utilised the capabilities of Lebanon to guarantee its

own safety and security,' he said. 'This agreement utilises the Lebanese government to protect the security and stability of the Zionists. The agreement stipulates security arrangements between the Lebanese government and the Zionists that involve a third of Lebanon's territories for their implementation.'

It was a lie, he said, to say the agreement calls for the withdrawal of Israeli forces.

Qadhafi explained that under the terms of the treaty 'Lebanese territories will not be used against the Israeli occupiers; the Palestinian resistance will not be permitted to use Lebanese territories to resist the Zionist occupation and to liberate Palestine'.

Moreover, he added, 'All Arab agreements with Lebanon together with the Arab League Charter, Lebanese law, and the constitution are null and void by order of the Israelis following the signing of this shameful agreement.' As a consequence Lebanon had been separated from the Arab nation and subjugated to Zionist control. Qadhafi pointed out that the agreement 'even prohibits Lebanese newspapers from inciting the people to resist the Zionist occupation or even speak about the Palestinian cause'.

'What has been arrived at is an

agreement that makes Lebanon lose its independence and makes the Arab nation lose Lebanon's independence,' he declared.

Reviewing the article in the agreement that calls for the establishment of permanent security for both countries, Qadhafi said: 'One Arab country agrees to permanent security for the Israelis in Palestine so that they may continue their occupation of other Arab countries'. Regarding the article calling for non-use of threats and force between them, he stressed, 'This means that an Arab country agrees not to use force against the Zionist enemy that is raping Palestine and preparing itself to swallow up other Arab countries.'

Continuing his review of the treaty's 'shameful' and 'treasonous' articles, the Libyan leader pointed out that the agreement 'prohibits Lebanon from deploying any irregular forces over its territories... and that all nationalist forces, together with the Palestinian forces, are prohibited by order of the Israelis from establishing a presence in Lebanon'. In addition, the treaty 'limits the kinds of weapons to be used by every brigade in the Lebanese security zone, including tanks, armoured personnel carriers and all other forms of weapons to be carried by the Lebanese Army'.

ship of the Arab League. It was indicative of the real beliefs of the Arab regimes, however, that Arab funds from Gulf states and Saudi Arabia continued to flow into Egypt to support the Sadat regime.

On the international scene, meanwhile, the PLO had scored a number of diplomatic victories. In 1974, one year after the October War of 1973, the Arab summit in Rabat recognised the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, and in November that year Yasser Arafat addressed the UN General Assembly, which subsequently also recognised the PLO and gave it observer status in the United Nations. The price which the PLO paid for this international acceptance had come at the June 1974 Palestine National Council, at which Yasser Arafat succeeded in securing a mandate for a new approach to liberation; he gained support for a strategy based on PLO control of any Palestinian territory evacuated by the Zionists and the concept of a West Bank/Gaza Strip state was written into PLO policy, although not actually declared as such. The new policy was considered essential if the United States was to come to terms with the PLO; its advocates included the Saudis and other regimes dependent on Washington for their survival. By 1979, PLO leader Yasser Arafat could boast official visits to three West European states: Austria, Spain and Turkey. The following year came the Venice Declaration, in which the EEC recognised the 'legitimate rights of the Palestinian people' and agreed the PLO should be involved in the peace process.

Increasingly the armed liberation struggle of the Palestinians was becoming secondary to the political manoeuvring of the PLO leadership. Jordan and Egypt had effectively closed their borders to Palestinian fighters and cut supply-lines to resistance fighters inside occupied Palestine.

At the same time the Arab regimes were rapidly closing the options for political manoeuvre, with increasing insistence that the PLO should renounce its original commitment to total liberation of Palestine and publicly declare its willingness to recognise the Zionist state in return for an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In 1981, the Saudis attempted to force through this sell-out package at the Arab summit in Fez; it failed on that occasion, but in November 1982 the Fahd plan was back on the agenda for the second Arab summit at Fez. It was adopted.

Meanwhile, the Zionists have made clear their rejection of any compromise solution, and the United States has made no less clear its total commitment to supporting Israel, whatever outrages it may commit. As the Arab regimes have devoted their energies to a political settlement with the Zionists, again and again Israel has shown its rejection of peace with the Arab nation through a series of bloody and spectacular aggressions.

Syrian and Saudi leaders confer with Qadhafi

IN THE wake of the Lebanon-Israeli treaty, Tripoli has been the scene of important talks between the Libyan revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi, Syria's President Hafez al Assad and Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Abdullah bin Abdulaziz, the kingdom's Deputy Prime Minister and Commander of the National Guard.

The Libyan leader's views on current developments in Lebanon and the wider Arab homeland have been expressed in a series of speeches and comments to the press in which he has warned that, under the agreement drafted by US Secretary of State Shultz, Lebanon's sovereignty has been effectively subjugated to Israeli influence and control. Moreover, he has warned that Israel will continue to seek to expand its territorial control, and that Syria could be the next target for a renewed Zionist aggression.

Against the background of Libya's renewed call for a united Arab defence plan to repel further Israeli attacks and prepare for the liberation of occupied Arab lands from Zionist control, coupled with the Jamahiriya's resolute stand against the Lebanon treaty, President Assad arrived in Tripoli on 31st May for talks with Muammer Qadhafi. On 5th June, Prince Abdullah left Tripoli after three hours of talks with the Libyan leader. The Saudi leader's visit is seen as significant in view of the fact that relations between the conservative kingdom and the radical Jamahiriya have reflected their differing political stands.

In a wide-ranging press conference on 2nd June, Qadhafi was asked about a possible rapprochement between Saudi Arabia and Libya. He said, 'The Saudis are making efforts to improve relations with Libya in view of Israeli expansionism in the Arab homeland'. The Libyan leader added, 'We have responded positively to this call, hoping that we might find in it an appeal for a united Arab action and a call for confrontation. We are still attentive to this call.' However, he went on to say that the Saudis 'must demonstrate their call is genuine and devoted to the interests of the Arab nation'.

In view of the powers given to the Israelis to intervene in Lebanese affairs by the recent treaty, Qadhafi said that Libya believed it necessary to liberate Lebanon from Zionist control, and accused President Gemeyal of being merely an Israeli proxy. Since Lebanon had abandoned its sovereignty under the treaty the Gemeyal government had forfeited its legitimacy.

Muammer Qadhafi pointed out that Lebanon had not held elections for the past decade. He told newsmen: 'Its President was installed by Israeli

tanks; the leader of the Phalangists cannot be President of Lebanon, even without Israeli tanks, because he is the enemy of half the Lebanese population. The President should be neutral, but the Israelis have imposed the people's adversary as President over them.'

He added, 'The Syrian forces must hold fast to Lebanon, now more than at any other time before, because Lebanon is now serving the interests of the Zionists, and will form an Israeli-American base to attack Syria. The only liberated part of Lebanon now is the region where the Syrian forces are in control.'

The Libyan leader went on to declare: 'Libya stands by Syria and is ready to meet all demands made upon it because the defence of Syria is tantamount to defending the Arab nation. Should Syria collapse the Israeli forces will advance easily into Baghdad, Mecca, Medina and the Guld and take hold of the oil and the Holy places. This is what will happen.'

Qadhafi continued, 'The strategy of the Zionist scheme will proceed by the occupation of Jordan, the expulsion of King Hussein and the Jordanians from the East Bank of the Jordan, driving them towards the Arab Peninsula, to force the exodus of the Palestinians (from occupied Palestine) to the East Bank, purging Palestine of the Palestinians, setting up a state for the Palestinians in the East Bank under Israeli protection, and where the Israelis will apply the same conditions as those imposed on the Lebanon.'

Questioned about his earlier predictions of a civil uprising in the Arab world if Arab regimes did not respond positively and realistically to the Zionist threat, the Libyan leader disclosed that he had sent letters to all Arab Heads of State concerning the dangers posed by Israeli designs. The 'Zionist death wagon,' he said, was attacking 'Arabs from the extreme right to the extreme left', and he warned: 'America does not differentiate between an Arab reactionary or a progressive person, for it is only concerned with protecting its interests, and sees that the Israelis are better at protecting America's interests.'

The Middle East conflict could no longer be seen as a purely Palestine conflict, Qadhafi pointed out. He explained, 'The central question is that of Arab existence or Israeli existence. It has become clear that the aim of the Israelis is not Palestine but the establishment of an empire in the Arab homeland replacing the entire Arab nation. We shall pay the price for its existence because of this languor.'

Building the jamahiri system



RECENT WEEKS have seen important developments in the extension of the *jamahiri* system of direct democracy, with students assuming responsibility for administering their schools and colleges, and trade unionists setting up a people's committee to oversee the Jamahiriya's foreign affairs. A special correspondent reviews the changes, setting them in the context of the theoretical basis of Libyan democracy.

'REPRESENTATION IS fraud' is a fundamental tenet of the *jamahiri* system of direct democracy established in Libya, in which the people as a whole determine their own affairs directly through the debates and resolutions of a comprehensive network of local congresses, open to all citizens. The Al Fateh Revolution asserts that for the people to hand over responsibility for their affairs to representatives, such as members of parliament, carries the grave risk of the professional politicians abusing their positions of trust and acting in their own personal or party interests, to the detriment of the interests of the people as a whole.

Above and beyond the issue of democracy, however, a key feature of the *jamahiri* system is that it encourages the maximum involvement and participation by all the people in the urgent tasks of socio-economic development and national defence. Libyans argue that people will only give their personal commitment to their country's progress if they are the direct beneficiaries of their efforts, and if they fully understand the issues at stake.

The establishment of the *jamahiri* system has been a gradual process, which has been under way in earnest since March 1977, when Libya was declared a *jamahiriya* — a 'state of the masses' — following a special conference convened in the south western desert town of Sebha. Since then, direct democracy has been extended into most areas of Libyan society, and in recent weeks the process has been stepped up with the establishment of direct democratic control of the country's educational institutions and of the Foreign Liaison Bureau — which administers Libya's foreign affairs (see box page 12).

In April and May, the Jamahiriya news agency JANA announced that

direct people's power had been established at a series of educational institutions throughout the country, including the Higher Technical Institute at Brak, the Yusuf Alathram Secondary Barracks at Benghazi, the 10th March Secondary Barracks for Women Teachers in Tripoli, the Gamal Abdel Nasser Secondary Barracks at Al Marj, the Qasr Bin Ashir Secondary School in Tripoli, the Qadisiyeh Barracks for Women Teachers in Kufra, the Misrata Institute for Social Services, and the Omar Mukhtar Boys' School in Benghazi.

At all these institutions the former administrative structures were swept away, and replaced by a congress comprising the entire staff and student body. The initiative for the moves came from the revolutionary committees at the schools and colleges. Under the *jamahiri* system, a Movement of Revolutionary Committees is charged with propagating the ideals of the Al Fateh Revolution. Open to individuals who are firmly committed to the Revolution, the committees have no executive authority, which remains firmly vested with the people, through their congresses.

The latest moves to extend direct democracy in Libya came in response to a call by Muammer Qadhafi on 28th March, in his address marking the thirteenth anniversary of the evacuation of British military bases from Libyan soil. 'As of 7th April, self-management will begin in all educational institutions,' he declared, adding that the move would be 'but a stage in escalating the people's authority and in the development of the *jamahiri* society, in which the people carry out all the tasks, and in which the masses do away with all traditional government and official machinery.'

The date 7th April was the anniversary of the 1976 Students' Revolution when university students loyal to the Revolution defeated an attempt by reactionary students to mount a challenge to the *jamahiri* system.

Barracks

It was no surprise that many of the educational institutions in which direct democracy has been established were termed 'barracks'. In the Jamahiriya, where more than one million citizens are in full time education, the academic system is closely geared to the country's economic, social and defence needs, and students are actively encouraged to identify fully with society as a whole.

Libya's ambitious development programmes require large numbers of skilled managers and technicians, and an improvement in the quality of academic and technical training has become a major preoccupation of Libyan planners. This objective is explicitly spelled out in the \$62.5 billion 1981-85 development

Popular supervision of Foreign Liaison Bureau

IN A move to bolster Libya's jama-hiri system of direct democracy, the country's trades unionists on 11th May assumed responsibility for administering the Foreign Liaison Bureau, which oversees the Jamahiriya's relations with foreign countries.

In the past, the Foreign Liaison Bureau has been criticised for a lack of responsiveness to the decisions of the Libyan people, as expressed through the resolutions of the General People's Congress. Moreover, the Bureau was widely regarded as having displayed a certain lack of energy in expanding the Jamahiriya's links with foreign peoples.

Reforms at the Foreign Liaison Bureau were called for by Muammar Qadhafi in his 28th March speech marking the 13th anniversary of the evacuation of British military bases from Libyan territory. 'The people's general vocational congresses (trades

unions) should march on the Foreign Liaison Bureau, and set up people's committees out of the general people's vocational congresses,' he declared, adding that the aim was to allow 'all sectors of the people to participate in the running of the Bureau' and to 'ensure that it acted on the resolutions of the People's Congresses'.

Announcing the reforms at the Foreign Liaison Bureau, the Jamahiriya news agency JANA said that in future the Bureau would conduct its affairs in 'a new spirit that transcends a mere follow-up of decisions, to the creation and implementation of the foreign policy resolutions of the General People's Congress'.

Reaffirming that Libya's principal objective was to bolster relations with foreign peoples, rather than governments, JANA stressed that traditional relations between states were undemocratic, since they were channelled

through institutions such as ministries and embassies whose structure denied expression to the wishes of the peoples on whose behalf they claimed to act. In contrast, the Jamahiriya conducts its foreign affairs through a Foreign Liaison Bureau, which is intended to be fully accountable to the Libyan people, and through people's bureaux, rather than embassies, which are administered by committees of ordinary Libyans.

Under the jamahiri system, each vocational congress has its own people's committee for foreign affairs. JANA explained that it was these committees that moved to reform the Foreign Liaison Bureau, and that the new People's Committee at the Bureau had been formed from their members.

'The Bureau is now run by a People's Administration that it totally under the supervision of the people's congresses,' JANA declared.

plan, and was reaffirmed by the General People's Congress in its January 1982 meeting, when it was agreed to speed up the development of an educational system more closely linked to the needs of the development programme. The most important reform was a decision to encourage earlier specialisation, and to phase out general secondary schools, which will be replaced by specialised training institutions with courses linked to those in the universities.

Another way in which students contribute to society as a whole is by regularly taking part in collective public works programmes, such as afforestation schemes in the Jebel Akhdar region of north east Libya.

One of the most important contributions made by Libyan students to their country, however, is their participation in military training programmes, as part of a wider defensive strategy, involving all the people, which is deemed essential to counter the threats posed by the Zionist state and its backers in Washington.

In Libya's military programmes, no less than in the system of direct democracy, the emphasis is on participation and involvement by all the people. The long-term objective is to replace the regular armed forces with the 'armed people', in which all citizens bear direct responsibility for national defence. This entails much more than the creation of a militia force, along traditional lines. Through their military training programmes, the Libyan people are gaining expertise in the operation of the full range of advanced weaponry, including heavy armoured vehicles and missiles.

Concept

The concept of the armed people is spelled out in a recent publication by the Libyan student Abdulrahim Alhadi Elmegirab,



Recent protest by Libyan students in London against American attempts at destabilisation.

entitled *The Vanguard of the Armed People*. The pamphlet notes that the theoretical basis of the system was first enunciated by Muammar Qadhafi in a speech marking the eighth anniversary of the Al Fateh Revolution. 'From now on, no faction will monopolise arms or the use of arms as a means for usurping power or wealth, to the detriment of the people,' he declared. The restriction of access to weapons to a small standing army carried the inherent danger of those weapons being turned on the people. If the people as a whole exercised power over their affairs through their local congresses and committees, he argued, it followed that they should also have the right to guard their authority through direct access to arms.

From the start, students were at the forefront of the moves towards the establishment of the armed people. The first academic institution to inaugurate regular military training was the Ali Wraith Secondary School in Tripoli, in the academic year 1977-78. Since then, the process has escalated, and the policy of giving students practical military training was reaffirmed by the General People's Congress in January 1982. At this year's GPC meeting in February, it was agreed that as part of a comprehensive programme of mobilisation to face the threats from Israel and the United States, following the Zionist invasion of Lebanon, all teacher training colleges and university faculties would be transformed into military academies. All teachers under the age of thirty were required to enroll in military colleges, and weapons training was made compulsory for all Libyans, both men and women.

Libya's moves towards the establishment of the armed people are poorly understood in the West, where media reports have suggested that the process is intended to whittle down the regular army as a means of neutralising any threat it might pose to the Al Fateh Revolution and its leadership. Such reports are not only unfounded: they also ignore the proven success, in military terms, of a defensive system in which the entire population is involved. It is inconceivable that the Libyan people could have conducted such a persistent campaign of armed resistance against the Italian invaders early this century if they had relied solely on regular armed forces. It was only because the Libyan tribesmen were able to operate as independent fighting units, responsible for their own weapons and tactics, that the struggle cost the Italians so dear.



Magnificently preserved ruins dating from the Roman occupation

Sabratha: 'A site of outstanding universal value'

THE RUINED city of Sabratha, on the coast 67 kilometres west of Tripoli, was one of three Libyan historic sites that were chosen for inclusion in the World Heritage List last December, confirming their international cultural significance and assuring continued efforts to protect and restore their impressive monuments for posterity. The other two were Leptis Magna, near the town of Homs, and Cyrene, in the Jebel Akhdar region in the north east of the Jamahiriya.

The World Heritage List is maintained by UNESCO's World Heritage Committee, which defines sites for inclusion on the list as having 'cultural and natural properties considered to be of outstanding universal value and, by virtue of this quality, especially worth safeguarding for future generations'.

The World Heritage Committee is charged by UNESCO with making World Heritage sites better known internationally, and with providing technical assistance for their protection and preservation.

Sabratha was founded in about the seventh century BC by Phoenician merchants who were developing extensive maritime trade links throughout the Mediterranean, from their city-states in what is today Lebanon. Attracted to the Libyan coast by the potential for trans-Saharan trade with the interior of Africa, the Phoenicians established a series of small trading posts, known as *emporion*, on the coast. Three of these, Sabratha, Leptis Magna, and Oea (which developed into today's Libyan capital), flourished and grew into major cities, collectively known by the Greek name Tripolis.

At first, the emporia were occupied

THE RUINED Roman city of Sabratha, on the coast west of Tripoli, is one of three major historic sites in the Jamahiriya that were recently added to UNESCO's World Heritage List for their 'outstanding universal value'. Dr Alan George reviews the rise and fall of one of North Africa's greatest classical cities.

only seasonally, a fact attested to by their archaeological remains. In his submission on Sabratha to the World Heritage Committee, Dr Abdullah Shaiboub, President of the Jamahiriya's Department of Antiquities, noted that 'the vestiges of this early outpost, situated between the harbour and the Forum, offer no evidence of solid, permanent structures, but rather consist of the remains of Punic storage jars and Greek vases. This would indicate that the site was merely one where occasional traders stopped or might even have resided during the good sailing season. Eventually, permanent structures of mud brick on foundations of stone were built.'

Sway

By the fifth century BC Sabratha, along with Leptis Magna and Oea, were firmly under the sway of Carthage, near today's Tunis. To an extent, this retarded their

prosperity, however, because Carthage imposed a series of trade restrictions on its subject towns to ensure that they posed no threat to its dominance in North Africa.

The origins of Roman rule over Sabratha go back to 264 BC, when Rome and Carthage, the two 'superpowers' of the western Mediterranean, clashed in the first of the three Punic Wars. At first, the Tripolis remained firmly in the Carthaginian camp, but at the end of the second Punic war, in 202 BC, Carthage was forced to cede part of its territories, including Tripolitania, to the local Kingdom of Numidia. The first Numidian garrisons were established in 193 BC and thirty years later the occupation was complete.

With Sabratha's incorporation in Numidia, the commercial restrictions imposed by Carthage were lifted, heralding a period of rapid expansion for the city. Sabratha, along with Oea and Leptis Magna, gravitated into the economic orbit of Rome. Rome's influence in Tripolis was further strengthened when, fifty years after the inception of Numidian rule, the empire went to war against the North African kingdom. Leptis Magna, very likely together with Oea and Leptis, appealed to Rome for protection, which was readily granted in the form of treaties of friendship and alliance.

Direct Roman rule came as the result of the civil war between Julius Caesar and Pompey, which broke out in 49 BC. The Numidian king Juba I sided with Pompey, and forced the Tripolitanian cities to supply him with arms and men. With Pompey's defeat in 46 BC, Caesar incorporated north west Libya into the

► Empire, and imposed stiff penalties on the cities in retaliation for their support of Pompey. These were lifted only during the reign of Augustus (30 BC-14 AD).

Roman rule brought a lengthy period of peace and prosperity to north west Libya, during which Roman culture became deeply rooted, although it never completely ousted Carthaginian customs and values. In Sabratha, new quarters were laid out, and an imposing new Forum was established over a complex of irregularly arranged buildings dating from the second century BC. To the east of the Forum, new blocks of buildings were marked out during the first century AD. For building stone, the architects drew on the sandstone quarries to the south east of the city.

The basis of Sabratha's prosperity in Roman times continued to be its location at the terminus of the major trans-desert caravan route running south through the oasis town of Ghadames to the Fezzan region in south west Libya, and on to Chad and Niger. A major item of trade was ivory, and its importance was signified by the choice of an elephant's tusk as the city's emblem. As the city expanded, however, it also developed as the centre of a flourishing agricultural zone along the coast, which produced olive oil and wheat for export to Rome.

Landmark

A landmark in Sabratha's development under Roman rule was the upgrading of the city to the status of colony, probably in the reign of Antonius Pius (138-161). In the words of Dr Shaiboub, in his submission to the World Heritage Committee: 'The civic pride which prosperity and the new imperial recognition brought to the citizens of Sabratha, who now maintained shipping offices at Ostia on the Tiber (Rome's port) led them to emulate their sister city Leptis Magna in refurbishing the public structures of their city.'

The Tripolitanian region reached its apogee during the reign of Emperor Septimius Severus (193-211), who was probably a native of Leptis Magna. To mark Septimius' accession to power, Leptis Magna launched a major and expensive programme of new monumental building, on a scale that severely overstretched the city's treasury and was a key factor in its subsequent decline. Sabratha was far less extravagant. As Dr Shaiboub said: 'Although by the early years of the third century Sabratha had expressed its civic interests in a manner of which it could be proud, it had not led itself to that verge of financial disaster which Leptis Magna would reach under the Severan emperors. Sabratha gave birth to no emperor for whom it could feel obliged to attempt the impossible in architectural dedications. It was comfortably satisfied with having provided the Lady Flavia Domitilla as wife to Vespasian (69-79 AD). Consequently the life of its citizen body ran on a fairly stable level

throughout the third century and into the early years of the fourth century.'

When the city did begin to decline, it was the result of weakened imperial government in Rome, and of religious feuds amongst Sabratha's citizenry. Christianity gained its first adherents in north west Libya during the reign of Septimius Severus. The early converts were ruthlessly persecuted, and although the repression ended in 313 AD, in the time of the first Christian Emperor, Constantine, there remained in Sabratha a Christian community that was bitterly divided between those who had, albeit reluctantly, submitted to the pre-Constantinian coercion, and those who had stubbornly maintained their beliefs. A separate Church, under the Tunisian Bishop Donatus, was formed, and there were frequent clashes in Sabratha between his

'Landmarks of architectural history'

'THE ROMAN and Byzantine monuments of Sabratha, the Forum, the Temple of Antonius Pius, the Temple of Serapis, the Temple of Isis, the amphitheatre and the theatre, constitute landmarks in the history of classical architecture in Africa.' That is how Dr Shaiboub, President of the Libyan Jamahiriya's Department of Antiquities, summed up Sabratha's cultural significance.

The most imposing of the monuments he listed is the theatre, on the east side of the city. Unique for the completeness of its stage, which is still used for cultural events, the theatre was built in about 180 AD and was the largest in North Africa. The semicircular auditorium, facing the sea, could seat 5,000 spectators, and the reconstructed back wall of the stage, designed to resemble the front of a palace, stands forty feet high.

The main area of Sabratha lies to the west of the theatre, and has a typical Roman grid-iron street plan. Excavation has revealed extensive areas of private houses and shops. Many had at least two storeys, judging by the presence of sockets in the stonework for floor joists and by the remains of staircases. Many of the mosaic floors in these private houses have survived.

In his report to the World Heritage Committee, Dr Shaiboub said that the major tasks facing his Department at Sabratha were 'to continue the restoration operations, to halt the progressive advance of the new town towards the Sabratha site on the east side, to reorganise the collections in its museum by periods and by the nature of the exhibits, and, above all, to do something about the deterioration of the grey sandstone of which the monuments were built.'

followers, and the 'catholics' who adhered to the imperial Roman creed.

Encouraged by these internal feuds, and by the general weakening of Roman wealth and military power, the tribesmen of the desert interior penetrated into the rich agricultural coastal plains. First came the Austurians, who sacked the region around Leptis Magna and reached its walls in 363 AD. Soon after, they pillaged Sabratha. As Dr Shaiboub said: 'Peace was destroyed by the disastrous raids of the Austurians 363-365AD, who wrought great destruction in the very heart of Sabratha and compelled the initiation of a new building programme. The native raiders had penetrated into the public squares of the city and had left in their wake many ruined and scarred public structures.' The damage of the Austurian raids was compounded in 365 by a severe earthquake that caused extensive destruction.

In 429, as the Roman Empire entered the period of decline that was to end with its final disintegration, the Vandals under King Genseric landed in North Africa from Spain and, moving westwards, had seized Tripolitania by 455. Vandal rule was extremely repressive, and did nothing to check the decline of the major Libyan cities. The walls of Sabratha, like those of Leptis Magna, were torn down to prevent resistance by the townspeople to the new rulers.

The Byzantines ousted the Vandals in 534, and a limited rebuilding programme was launched. In Sabratha, new structures were laid over the debris of the old town, and new houses were built. A number of churches were built, foremost amongst them the Justinian Basilica, noted for its mosaic floor which, in Dr Shaiboub's words, represented 'a vast number of birds of all descriptions moving casually amid the intertwining tendrils of grape vines. A magnificent peacock poses in the frame of vines at one end. The entire piece is a charming *tour de force*.'

Sabratha, however, was not returned to its former glory. The new Byzantine city walls enclosed only a fraction of the area enclosed by the former walls.

The city's long-term decline was not halted, and when the Muslim Arabs arrived from the east in 643, the city was little more than a large village, although it was still big enough to merit an Arab garrison. The Arabs adopted Tripoli as their regional capital, and transferred Sabratha's commercial functions to the new seat of government. Sabratha's fate was sealed, although its final demise was delayed until the eleventh century, when the Fatimid Caliphate in Cairo despatched the warlike Bani Sulaim and Bani Hillal tribes to subdue the local Zairi dynasty that in 1050 had proclaimed its independence from Cairo.

As the tribes moved westwards, the remaining inhabitants of Sabratha fled, leaving the once glorious city a ghost town, abandoned to the desert sands.

10TH JUNE marked the start of Ramadan — the most important month in the Islamic year, when Muslims throughout the world reaffirm their faith and deepen their spiritual commitment by fasting during daylight hours. To many in the west, however, Ramadan remains shrouded in mystery, and little is known of the origins and significance of the holy month, nor of the religious obligations accompanying it. This reflects the continuing widespread lack of understanding of the Islamic faith in western countries, despite the rapid increase in the number of the world's Muslims, and the growing political significance of Islamic countries.

It was in Ramadan, the ninth month in the Islamic calendar, that God revealed to the Prophet Muhammad the first parts of the *Quran* — the Islamic holy text. While the Prophet was sleeping alone in a cave during a period of retreat and meditation in the countryside on Mount Hira, near Mecca, the archangel Gabriel came and commanded Muhammad: 'Recite!' Unsure how to respond, the Prophet hesitated three times, asking: 'What shall I recite?' The angel responded: 'Lord, who created all things, who created man from clots of blood, recite. For thy Lord is the most generous, who taught by the pen, who taught man what he did not know.'

These words, forming the first four verses of the 96th Sura (chapter) of the *Quran*, constituted the first divine message received by Muhammad, who was then approaching his fortieth year. Over the following 23 years, until his death in June 623 AD, the Prophet received a succession of further revelations from God, which together formed the *Quran*.

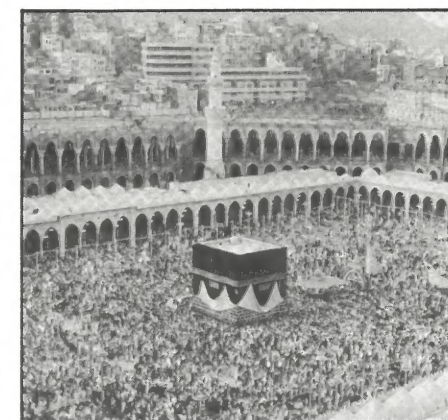
The linkage between the first Quaranic revelations and the fast of Ramadan is clearly spelled out in the Islamic holy book: 'It was the month of Ramadan in which the *Quran* was first bestowed from on high as a guidance unto man and a self-evident proof of that guidance, and as the standard by which to discern the true from the false. Hence, whoever of you lives to see this month shall fast throughout it.'

Humane

Islam, however, is nothing if not a humane religion, and the *Quran* acknowledges that the fast may be an inordinately heavy imposition on certain Muslims: 'He that is ill, or on a journey, shall fast instead for the same number of other days. God wills that you shall have ease, and does not will you to suffer hardship; but desires that you complete the number of days required, and that you extol God for His having guided you aright, and that you render your thanks unto Him.'

Others excluded from the Ramadan fast include children, the very old, those engaged in heavy manual labour, women undergoing menstruation, and expectant mothers and those nursing babies.

The *Quran* specifies that Muslims shall fast from dawn until sunset during



Ramadan: The holiest month in the year

ISLAM IS the world's fastest-growing religion, and is the official faith of a major block of Third World countries, including the Libyan Jamahiriya. Islam nevertheless remain widely misunderstood in the West. This special report looks at the origins and significance of Ramadan, the holiest month in the Islamic calendar.

Ramadan: to 'eat and drink until the white thread shows clearly to you from the black thread at the dawn; then complete the fast until nightfall'.

The rituals surrounding the Ramadan fast are very strict. Before dawn each day, Muslims must proclaim their intention to fast (*niya*) and to abstain (*imsak*) until sunset. During the daylight hours no food or liquid may be consumed, and such activities as smoking are forbidden. A saying attributed to the Prophet Muhammad (one of the *hadith*) says: 'The scent of the breath of a fasting man is pleasanter to God than the scent of musk.'

After sunset, the fast is broken by light refreshment, followed by a breakfast (*suhr*), which is usually eaten in the company of relatives and friends. The hours of darkness are also devoted to prayers and celebrations, with emphasis on the joys of Paradise which await those who observe the fast correctly.

Ramadan also plays an important role in reaffirming key social tenets of Islam. During the holy month, Muslims must refrain not only from food and drink, but

also from satisfying sexual or other physical desires during daylight hours. Moreover, Muslims must refrain from insulting or fighting anybody, even if attacked. All evil thoughts, words and deeds must be shunned.

Self-restraint

Related to these strictures is the role of the fast as an exercise in will-power and self-restraint. In this respect, fasting is not unique to Islam. As the *Quran* says: 'O you who have attained to faith! Fasting is ordained to you as it was ordained for those before you', and it adds that fasting was prescribed 'that you may learn self-restraint'.

Islam asserts that fasting will bring no spiritual benefits whatsoever unless accompanied by a commitment to high standards of morality and spirituality. Ramadan is therefore a month of intense meditation and prayer, during which Muslims tend to withdraw from their worldly affairs and spend extended periods in mosques. One of the *hadith* states: 'The result of fasting is only hunger and thirst if one does not keep his hands and feet free from evil deeds.'

Charitable acts are another intrinsic aspect of Ramadan — as they are of the Islamic religion as a whole. Every Muslim is expected to give *zakat*, a self-imposed tax to assist charitable organisations. One objective of this requirement is to remind the better-off of the deprivations suffered by the poor.

Different parts of the month of Ramadan have different religious significance. The exact date of God's initial revelation to Muhammad on Mount Hira is not known, but it does lie somewhere between the 21st and 29th days of Ramadan. Accordingly, devotions reach a climax between these dates. 'The night of Power,' declares the *Quran*, 'is better than a thousand months: in it the angels and the Spirit descend, by the leave of their Lord.'

The end of Ramadan is marked by the *Eid al Fitr* — three days of fasting and celebration. The festival is second in importance in the Muslim calendar only to the *Eid al Adha*, which marks the *Haji*, or pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina.

For Muslims, the Ramadan fast is not a penance. Ramadan may be a month of strictures, but it is also a period in which faith in God is reaffirmed and celebrated. Ramadan is associated in many Islamic countries with various sweets — the *zalabya* in North Africa, the *kunafa* and *qatayif* in the eastern parts of the Arab homeland, and jellies and coconut sweets in south east Asia. In many Arab countries, the start of Ramadan is marked by military and public processions.

The significance of the Ramadan fast is underlined by its role as one of the five 'pillars' of Islam — the basic tenets of the faith, which include belief in one God, recognition of the Prophet Muhammad as the last and final of the prophets, the *Haji* and the *zakat*.

'One of the more promising markets' for British firms

IN FEBRUARY, a British trade mission visited the Jamahiriya to explore the prospects for bolstering trade ties between the two countries, highlighting the determination of both Tripoli and London to expand their economic links despite the temporary slowdown in the pace of economic and social development programmes in Libya, in the face of the world oil glut.

The British team, from the Department of Trade-sponsored Committee for Middle East Trade (COMET), was headed by COMET Chairman Lord Selsdon, and included the body's director, Sinclair Road. Amongst the Libyan officials with whom the delegation met were the Secretaries for Heavy Industry and Electricity, the Assistant Secretary for Foreign Liaison, and the Deputy Governor of the Central Bank.

On his return, Mr Road told *Jamahiriya Review* that the talks had been 'extremely friendly', and added that neither side had been able to identify any obstacle to a further development of the already warm relations between Britain and Libya.

In recent years, as the Jamahiriya's

LIBYA REMAINS one of the most important markets for British firms, despite a slow-down in the Jamahiriya's development programmes in the face of the world oil glut. British trade officials are convinced, however, that as conditions stabilise in the international oil markets, UK exports to Libya will resume their steady upward trend, as Dr Alan George reports.

development plans have gathered momentum, Libyan-British trade has flourished. British exports to Libya rocketed from £280 million in 1980 to more than £500 million in 1981 — a jump of 70 per cent. At the same time, the balance of trade has shifted strongly in Britain's favour. Most Libyan exports to Britain in the past comprised crude oil, but with the

development of the North Sea fields British imports of Libyan oil decreased regularly, until by 1981 they had become negligible.

In 1982, however, the pattern of British-Libyan trade was disrupted by two major developments. The Jamahiriya, in common with other oil producers, was feeling the impact of the world oil glut, which led to declining prices and lower output levels. Acting to offset the impact of lower oil revenues, the General People's Congress (GPC) in January 1982 urged widespread economies, and approved a development budget five per cent lower than in 1981.

At its February meeting this year, the GPC reaffirmed the need for continued financial caution, and agreed a 1983 budget of \$8 billion — down nine per cent on the planned 1982 total of \$8.8 billion, although still higher than last year's actual spending of \$7.1 billion.

The Libyan Jamahiriya's restrained spending was directly reflected in Britain's exports to the Jamahiriya last year, which fell by 50 per cent to £260.9 million (see table).

Boycott

The second factor that disrupted the pattern of British-Libyan trade was the boycott imposed in March last year by President Reagan on imports into America of Libyan crude oil. Libyan oil is of very high quality and apart from Libya, oil of this type is found in large quantities only in Nigeria and the North Sea. To make good the US deficit in oil of this quality, following the imposition of the boycott, Britain dramatically increased its exports of North Sea crude to the United States. To meet British demand, meanwhile, the UK stepped up its imports from Libya, reversing the trend of the past decade. Libyan exports to Britain in 1982, comprising mainly crude oil, rose by 350 per cent, to total £342.5 million.

The twin trends of declining British exports to Libya, and rising Libyan exports to Britain led to a trade balance in favour of the Jamahiriya totalling £81.6 million, contrasting with the 1981 situation, when Britain's exports to Libya exceeded its imports from the Jamahiriya by £452.4 million.

British trade officials are convinced that the slow-down in Libya's development programme, and the consequent reduction in British exports last year, will be temporary, lasting only until the end of the world oil glut. COMET stands by its special report, published last year, on the Jamahiriya's \$62.5 billion 1981-85 development plan: 'Libya should still be regarded as one of the more promising markets in the Middle East, notwithstanding its current cashflow difficulties. Close attention should therefore be paid to further developments in this market which — with its very substantial investment commitments and its dependence on imports of goods, services and skills — is bound to start moving again, once the oil situation has stabilised.'

Qadhafi acts to boost food output

UNDERLYING THE continuing concern at the performance of Libya's agricultural sector, Muammer Qadhafi in April held intensive discussions with the General People's Committee for Land Reclamation and Agrarian Reform, centring on ways of raising the Jamahiriya's agricultural production and minimising food imports.

Major strides have been made in agriculture in recent years, but the sector has nevertheless fallen short of targets set out in successive development plans. Concern at the pace of agricultural development was a major topic at the January 1982 meeting of the General People's Congress in Tripoli, and at a special session of the GPC in March last year there was a comprehensive reshuffle of the officials charged with administering the sector (see *Jamahiriya Review* April 1982).

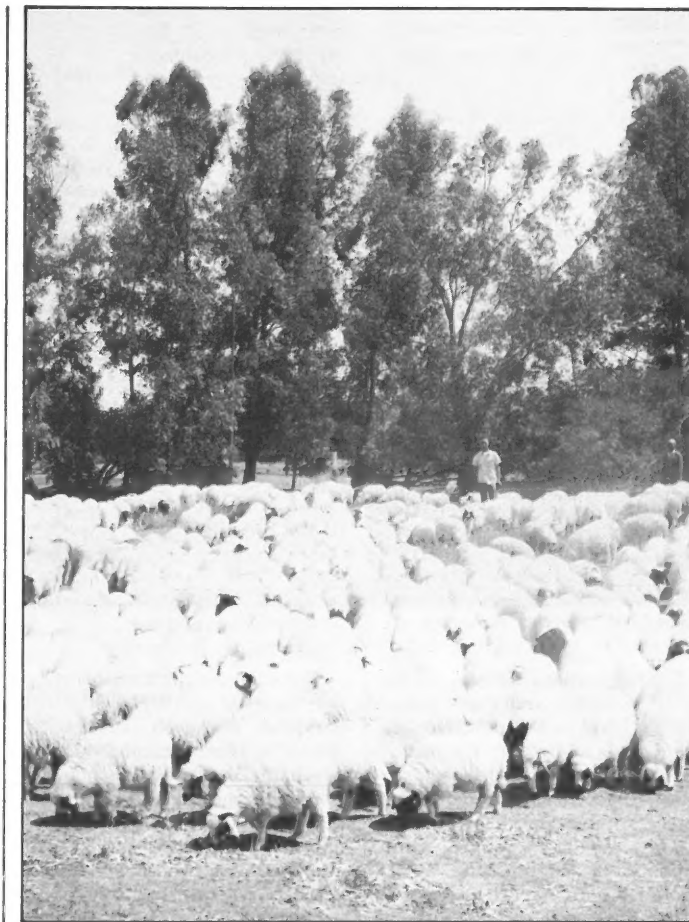
At the February meeting of the GPC this year, resolutions were passed calling for greater efforts to stimulate production, and for a reduction in expensive food imports.

The Jamahiriya news agency JANA said on 21st April that Muammer Qadhafi's discussions with the General People's Committee for Agrarian Reform and Land Reclamation had concerned 'the implementation of the resolutions of the GPC regarding maximum production of food and minimum possible consumption', adding that they 'discussed in detail this national objective, and the plans providing for its implementation'.

Another topic of discussion was agricultural marketing in the Jamahiriya. At the January 1982 GPC meeting, there was sharp criticism of bottlenecks in the distribution of agricultural produce. To alleviate the problem, the GPC resolved at this year's meeting to establish fruit and vegetable markets in squares in all Libya's towns.

Economy measures succeed

FINANCIAL MEASURES introduced over the past year to offset the impact of falling oil revenues, stemming from the world oil glut, have brought a sharp improvement in the Jamahiriya's cash-flow situation, Mr John Bowyer, Chairman of the British consulting firm White Young Project Development, has said.



Discussions are underway aimed at raising food production and minimising imports

Addressing a meeting of British businessmen and UK representatives of foreign firms at the London Chamber of Commerce on 27th April, Mr Bowyer said that budget control measures had succeeded in putting 'the house in order', after a period of financial pressure following the launch of the \$62.5 billion 1981-85 development plan.

The most effective measures, he added, had been a decision in June last year making the Central Bank the Jamahiriya's sole monetary agency. This ended the system whereby individual secretariats were able to issue letters of credit on their own account, which had led to over-spending because of lack of co-ordination between secretariats.

Other important moves had been the decision to freeze new projects, and to cancel letters of credit. The need for economy measures to beat the oil glut was a major theme of the Tripoli meetings of the General People's Congress in January 1982 and February 1983. At this year's meeting, the Congress agreed to give priority to projects already under way, and that no new contracts would be signed in 1983 'except in strategic projects' — understood to include the steel works under construction at Misrata and the petrochemicals complex under way at Ras Lanouf. The recently agreed OPEC

production ceiling of 1.1 million barrels per day for Libya was close to the Jamahiriya's originally planned goal of 1.4 million barrels per day to allow most 1981-85 targets to be met, said Mr Bowyer.

The business climate in the Jamahiriya, he continued, was favourable for foreign contractors, and he described prospects over the longer term as 'very good', adding: 'The revival appears to have started. There is work to be obtained.'

Mr Bowyer stressed that payments delays experienced by some firms over the past eighteen months have been aberrations, saying that his own company had never failed to receive payments over a ten year period working in the Jamahiriya on a variety of projects.

\$6 million gas/oil plant

SOUTH KOREA'S Hanyang Corporation has won a \$6 million contract for a gas/oil separation plant at Fidda, south of Tripoli. Client for the 50,000 barrels per day project is the Occidental Petroleum Corporation, one of the largest oil firms operating in the Libyan Jamahiriya.

The scheme is Hanyang's second in Libya. In 1982 it com

pleted a \$20 million extension to the People's Palace in Tripoli where the General People's Congress holds its meetings.

The firm is also low bidder for two major urban development schemes, one at Sarir, in the desert 400 kilometres south of Benghazi itself. At Sarir, a new town is planned, and Hanyang has bid about \$640 million for the first stage of construction. In Benghazi, Hanyang's bid is for a 110 hectare urban renewal scheme. Originally this project was valued at about \$780 million, but it has reportedly been scaled down because of financial constraints, and its cost is now put at about \$260 million. According to *Middle East Economic Digest* on 29th April, two hotels planned as part of the scheme are likely to be dropped.

Misrata port to expand

THE YUGOSLAVIAN concern Projekt Ivan Milutinovic (PIM) has been awarded a \$280 million contract for stage two of Misrata's commercial port at Qasr Ahmad. Work is expected to start next month, and will take about four years to complete.

The construction of quays accounts for 23 per cent of the contract, and will entail building five general cargo berths, four container berths, two roll-on, roll-off berths and one for oil products. Buildings, five transit sheds, two warehouses, two maintenance workshops, administrative buildings and a harbour master's office, represent 16 per cent of the total work.

A further 12 per cent of the contract comprises dredging and excavations, including dredging to 11 metres below sea level, from the present five metres below. Roads, paving and other utilities comprise another 24 per cent of the work, with the remainder covering the supply of construction, equipment and facilities such as accommodation for workers. Seven electricity substations will be required to meet energy requirements during excavation.

PIM, which is currently engaged in a scheme for the expansion of Benghazi port, was the main contractor for the first stage of Misrata port, completed in 1979 at a cost of \$77.6 million. The first stage entailed 1,100 metres of quays. Stage two does not involve any additional breakwaters. Consultant for both stages is Britain's Rendel Palmer & Tritton.

Qasr Ahmad port is sited eleven kilometres east of Misrata, and is one of two ports under development in the town. In

British imports from Libya by commodity group (£'000)

	1982	1981	% change
Food and live animals, chiefly for food	48	3	1,500
Beverages and tobacco	—	—	—
Crude materials, inedible, except fuels	—	0	—
Mineral fuels, lubricants and related materials ...	333,951	68,086	390.5
Animal and vegetable oils, fats and waxes	—	—	—
Chemicals and related products	1,319	465	183.7
Manufactured goods, classified by material	238	60	296.7
Machinery and transport equipment	6,469	6,733	-3.9
Miscellaneous manufactured articles	446	471	-5.3
Other	6	639	-99
TOTAL	342,476	76,455	348

British exports to Libya by commodity group (£'000)

	1982	1981	% change
Food and live animals, chiefly for food	2,084	20,280	-89.7
Beverages and tobacco	1,172	6,193	-81.1
Crude materials, inedible, except fuels	575	607	-5.3
Mineral fuels, lubricants and related materials ...	519	578	-10.2
Animal and vegetable oils, fats and waxes	39	253	-84.6
Chemicals and related products	27,163	37,684	-27.9
Manufactured goods, classified by material	52,504	66,757	-21.3
Machinery and transport equipment	145,456	282,132	-48.4
Miscellaneous manufactured articles	30,003	107,186	-72
Other	1,420	7,183	-80.2
TOTAL	260,937	528,855	-50.7



Tripoli port: UNCTAD practice to be followed.

November 1980 the Turkish firm of Sezai Turkes Feyzi Akkaya won a \$282 million contract for the first phase of a harbour to serve the steel works under construction in Misrata. The firm is building a bulk berth with an unloading capacity of 2,000 tonnes of iron ore or 1,300 tonnes of coal per hour. The projected second and third building stages will raise the hourly loading capacity to 4,000 tonnes of iron ore or 8,000 tonnes of coal.

Port development is given a high priority in the Jamahiriya's 1981-85 development plan, with a total of LD 2.1 billion allocated to the transport and communications sector, of which a large proportion is earmarked for the expansion of the country's ports. The plan aims at increasing the handling capacity of the Jamahiriya's ports from seven million tonnes in 1980 to about 16.5 million tonnes by the middle of the decade.

Shipping line adopts UNCTAD rules

THE JAMAHIRIYA'S shipping line, the General National Maritime Company (GNMTC), is to adopt UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) practice on freight transport, which provides for 80 per cent of a country's trade to be split equally between shipping lines of the trading countries, with the balance staying open to any carrier.

In March GNMTC lifted restrictions requiring half of all imports from Europe to Libya to be carried on its vessels, with other cargoes being shipped by lines that in the past have maintained regular, direct, sailings to the Jamahiriya.

The regulations were called for in an Economy and Light Industry in Libya's 1981-85 development plan, which explicitly provides for Libyan vessels to carry 60 per cent of the country's imports by 1985.

The regulations have been dropped in deference to representations from Britain, West Germany, Holland, Norway, Greece and Denmark, who argued that the new system discriminated unfairly against their own shipping lines.

Bright outlook for Australian trade

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya is planning to boost its links with Australia by trebling imports from one state of Western Australia, and sending up to one hundred post graduate students there each year for training. Mr Suleiman al Oreibi, Secretary of the Libyan People's Bureau in Canberra, has said.

The Sydney Daily Commercial News added that at present the Jamahiriya imports agricultural machinery, pasture seed and live sheep valued at \$64 million per year.

Libya's growing links with Australia were underlined by the recent award to the Western Australian Overseas Projects Authority (WAOPA) of a UN Food and Agriculture Organisation contract for a water resources study aimed at opening the central wadi zone and the Sirte region, along the coast, for settlement and an expansion of agriculture. Two Australian water specialists will spend six weeks in the Jamahiriya working on the project.

The announcement on boosting the number of Libyan students pursuing advanced studies in Australia illustrates the way in which the Jamahiriya is moving to side-step US efforts to sabotage its social and economic progress. In March, the Reagan administration barred Libyan students from taking courses in the United States on nuclear sciences and aeronautics.

LAFB manages \$500 million loan for Greece

THE LIBYAN Arab Foreign Bank (LAFB), which handles all the Jamahiriya's overseas banking operations, is one of six co-lead managers for a \$500 million syndication being arranged for the Bank of Greece, the Mediterranean country's central bank.

A syndication is a multi-million dollar loan from a consortium of banks in which the largest banks co-operate overall arrangements and are known as lead managers.

LAA considers leasing Airbus

LIBYAN ARAB Airlines (LAA) is considering leasing European Airbus A 300 airlines in order to nullify the impact of Washington's refusal to allow the supply of Boeing aircraft.

LAA's current fleet comprises ten Boeing 722-200s, two Ilyushin 11-76Ts, and ten Fokker F-27s, with a further eight F-27s being delivered. The Libyan airline urgently needs wide-bodied aircraft, however, to cater for a rapid growth in passenger traffic,

and the airline last year placed a firm order, worth \$600 million, with the Seattle-based Boeing Corporation for one 747, five 767s and six 737s. In February the Reagan administration refused Boeing an export licence as part of Washington's wider economic war against the Jamahiriya.

At the time, it was widely predicted that Libya would turn instead to Toulouse-based Aircraft Industrie, with a view to purchasing their Airbus planes. A problem, however, is that Reagan's trade restrictions cover the US-made General Electric and Pratt & Whitney engines that are standard on the Airbuses, preventing their export to the Jamahiriya.

In March it was disclosed that LAA is investigating as a possible temporary solution the wet-leasing of A300s from another airline. Major overhauls of LAA's existing Boeing 727s are carried out by Air France, and there is speculation that the French airline might be willing to provide airbuses, together with crews.

A longer-term way around Reagan's boycott on exports to Libya of US-made aero engines might be the installation of British-made Rolls Royce RB 211 engines in the Airbuses. Both Rolls Royce and LAA have confirmed that regular discussions are under way on an engine contract which could be worth up to \$77 million for the British firm, and open up wider Airbus engine markets to the company. The RB 211s, however, were not developed for the Airbus, and would require a lengthy process of certification, which LAA Planning Director Muhammad Abbrabeesh says the airline would be reluctant to finance.

Success for Chinese firms

TWENTY-ONE turnkey manufacturing projects submitted by firms from the People's Republic of China have been approved by the Libyan Jamahiriya, it was disclosed in April. There are plans to commission 85 such projects, and West Germany, Japan and South Korea have already supplied equipment.

A strengthening of relations between Tripoli and Peking was a major theme in Libya's foreign affairs last year. The process culminated with an October visit to the People's Republic by Muammer Qadhafi, at the head of a high-powered Libyan delegation. During the tour, discussions were held on the formation of a joint committee to monitor and develop economic, scientific and technical co-operation between the two countries.

International

16th April: Mr Jadallah Azourz Talhi, Secretary of the General People's Committee, meets with Mr Manea Manescu, Vice President of the Romanian Council of State, who is visiting Libya to review progress on the implementation of co-operation agreements between Tripoli and Bucharest.

16th April: Mr Omar Diarso, Secretary-General of the African Youth Movement, arrives in Tripoli as part of the preparations for the Second African Youth Festival, to be held in the Libyan capital in August, in which 7,000 young people are expected to take part.

18th April: Vice President Green of Guyana arrives in the Jamahiriya for talks on bilateral relations.

19th April: General People's Committee Secretary Jadallah Azourz Talhi holds talks with visiting South Korean Minister of Trade and Industry Kim Dong Whie. Earlier, the South Korean Minister had conferred with the Secretary for Economy and Light Industry, Musa Abu Freiwa, Planning Secretary Fawzi Shakshuki, and Foreign Liaison Secretary Abdel Ati al Obeidi.

19th April: An exhibition of the Jamahiriya's major economic and social achievements has been opened in Africa Hall in Addis Ababa, the Jamahiriya news agency JANA announces. The exhibition is part of Libya's contribution to the celebrations marking the Silver Jubilee of the African Economic Commission. The exhibition was opened by Dr Adineg, Executive Secretary of the African Economic Commission, and Ethiopia's Acting Minister of Culture, and by the Secretary of the Libyan People's Bureau in Addis Ababa.

21st April: Libyan students at Colorado University in the United States take part in the institution's annual Festival. Amongst their contributions were a display of literature setting out the Jamahiriya's economic and social achievements, and a showing of the film *Lion of the Desert*, which depicts the exploits of Omar Mukhtar, the resistance fighter who led the struggle against the Italian occupation of Libya.

1st May: Tripoli radio says that the world's workers should celebrate 1st September 1978, and not 1st May, as their international day.

1st September was the day when Libyan workers took over direct control of their factories, in accordance with the revolutionary slogan 'partners, not wage workers'.

3rd May: Libya beats Ethiopia by one goal to nil in a friendly football match in Addis Ababa. Fawzi Issawa scored the only goal, 23 minutes into the first half.

8th May: Libya and Hungary sign a cultural, scientific and technical co-operation agreement. The accord was signed by the Jamahiriya's Education Secretary and by Hungary's Minister of State for Culture and Education.

11th May: The Secretary of the Libyan People's Bureau in Brussels meets with Belgian Foreign Minister Leo Tindemans for talks on strengthening bilateral relations.

12th May: The Jamahiriya complains at the UN Security Council that the US is stepping up 'provocative acts' by violating Libya's air space and territorial waters. Dr Ali Abdel Salam Treiki, Tripoli's Permanent Representative at the UN, said that the most serious violations took place on 25th-26th April, when warplanes from the Sixth Fleet aircraft carrier *Nimitz* flew 'intensive sorties' along the Libyan coast.

17th May: Carlos Nunez, a member of Nicaragua's Sandinista Front National Command, arrives in Tripoli for talks on the Jamahiriya's assistance to the Nicaraguan people, who are currently facing an invasion mounted by US-backed mercenaries based in Honduras.

Arab Homeland

15th April: Mr Omar al Hamidi, Secretary of the International Committee for Solidarity with the Arab People, delivers the inaugural address at a meeting in Athens of the preparatory committee for an international conference for solidarity with the Arab nation, to be held in Cyprus from 13th to 15th May. The seminar will focus on US attempts to impose its hegemony on the Arab region.

9th May: Foreign Liaison Secretary Abdel Ali al Ubeidi meets with Mr Mohammed Fadhel, Deputy Mauritanian Foreign Minister, for talks aimed at boosting bilateral co-operation.

Jamahiriya

16th April: The Jamahiriya's Civil Service Secretariat begins a seminar at Tripoli's Centre for Ideological Training, aimed at studying ways of simplifying administrative procedures. In February, the General People's Congress called for reforms to improve civil service efficiency.

17th April: A one-week short story, poetry and Quran recital competition ends in Tobruk, in north east Libya. The competition was organised by the Educational Services Section of Tobruk's People's Committee Secretariat for Education.

3rd May: The fifth local congress for workers' education resumes in Benghazi. Talks centre on means of boosting productivity and output in the Jamahiriya, in line with calls made at February's meeting of the General People's Congress.

3rd May: The first meeting of the Women's Revolutionary Committees in Ghadames municipality ends.

9th May: Tripoli's Voice of the Greater Arab Homeland radio announces the arrest of a Palestinian who had been recruited by the CIA to take part in an assassination attempt against revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi. The would-be assassin was a member of Yasser Arafat's Fatah organisation, the radio added.

Economy and Development

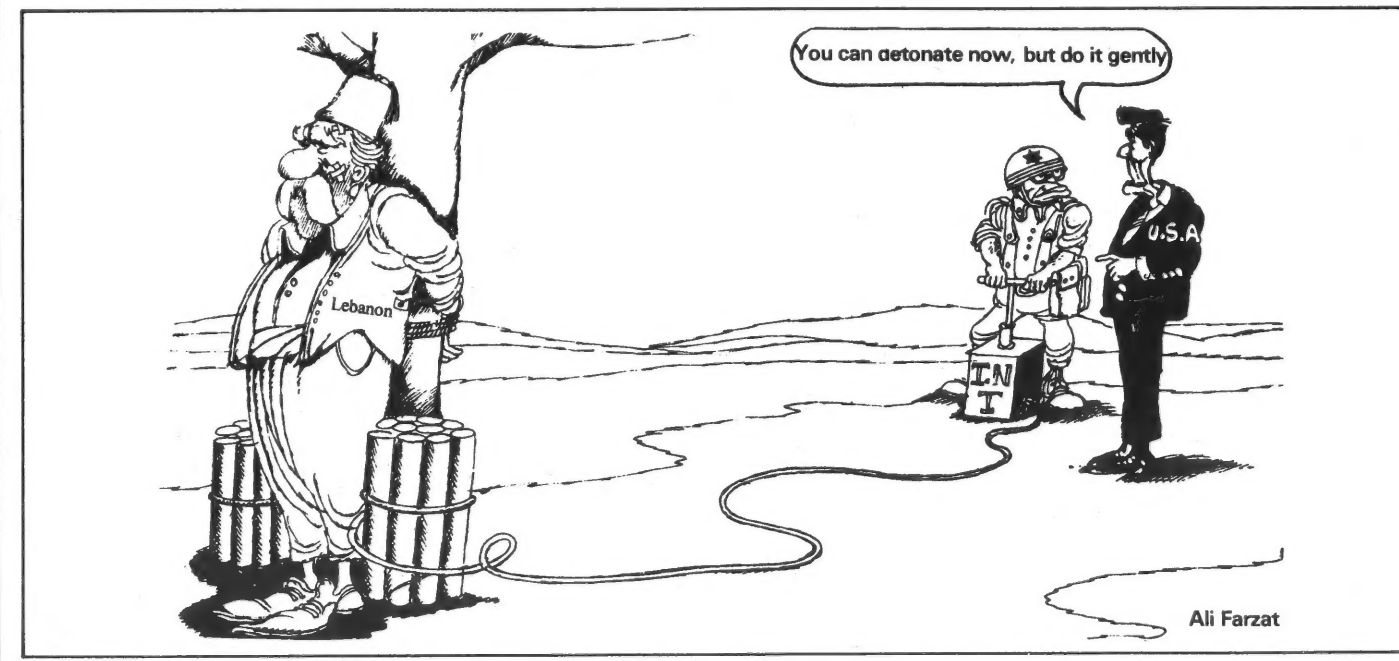
6th May: It is disclosed that Libyan oil output has climbed to about 1.1 million barrels per day (b/d), from 900,000 b/d in early April.

11th May: The Scotsman reports that fresh meat from Scotland may soon be exported to the Jamahiriya, following a visit to Edinburgh by members of the Libyan People's Bureau in London.

13th May: It is disclosed that Libya's imports from Sweden fell by 41 per cent in 1982, to \$77.7 million.

15th May: The Maltese Minister of Construction arrives in Tripoli for talks aimed at bolstering bilateral co-operation.

17th May: It is announced that the Jamahiriya is co-operating with Iran and Abu Dhabi in research into ways of stabilising shifting desert sands, which can severely hamper agricultural and transport developments.



THE GREEN BOOK

BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

PART 1

The solution of the problem of Democracy

PART 2

The solution of the Economic Problem

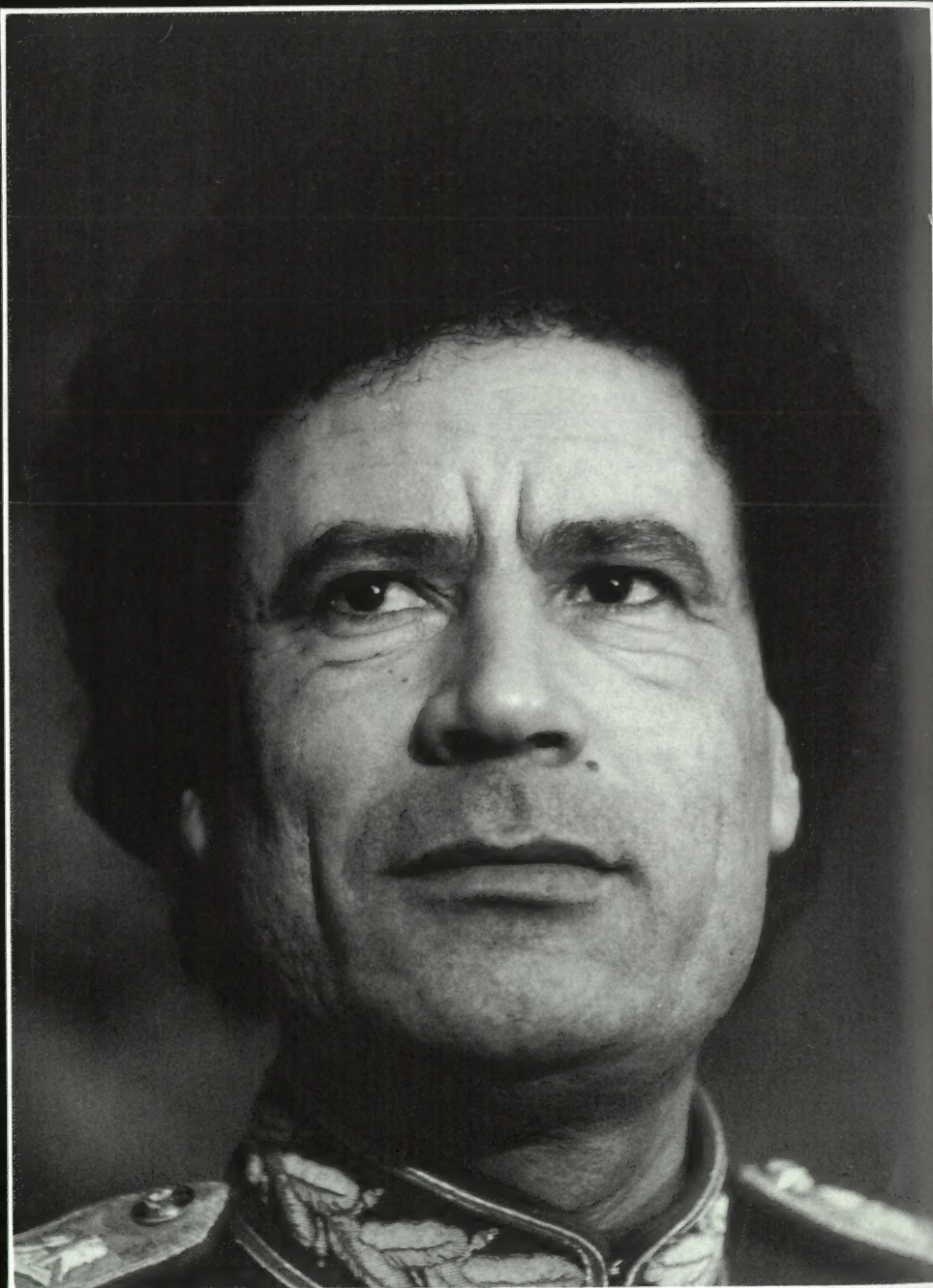
PART 3

The Social Basis of the Third Universal Theory

In these three volumes the Libyan leader examines the economic, social and political problems confronting the world today, and presents a radical programme for their solution.

The Green Book provides a comprehensive review of the theories on which the Libyan

proposals put forward by Muammer al Qadhafi are not merely theories but an explanation and insight into the structure and priorities of modern Libya.



Copies of The Green Book can be obtained from The Information Department, The Libyan People's Bureau of the Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, 5 St James's Square, London SW1.

jamahiriya review

July 1983

Price 50p

Inside:
Chad: Facts
and fiction



Qadhafi's mission for Arab destiny

Special report
on the Libyan leader's
tour of Arab capitals